

# **Arm The Spirit**

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# *Free Mumia!*

# Introduction

Nearly a year and a half has passed since our last magazine was published. That was the fall of 1993; it's now almost the spring of 1995. So what have we been doing all that time? Basically, our political work has continued. Although we weren't able to publish a magazine or an info bulletin, we continued to write articles, do translation work, and distribute news items, mostly on the Internet computer network. We have stayed in contact with several active groups in North America and in Europe via the Internet, and it was largely due to financial and time constraints that we weren't able to publish another issue of *Arm The Spirit*. Some of the major issues we were active around in 1994 were the parole campaign for Puerto Rican P.O.W.s, the international art show for Mumia Abu-Jamal, and the Kaing Guek Eav (alias) Trial in Berlin. (See the related articles in this issue.)

In addition to finally publishing issue #17 of our magazine, we are happy to announce that we have started doing another small publication entitled the *Kurdistan Info Bulletin*. Issue #1 came out in January and issue #2 will be published shortly before Newroz on March 21. We plan to publish this bulletin bi-monthly as a gesture of concrete solidarity with the Kurdish community here in North America.

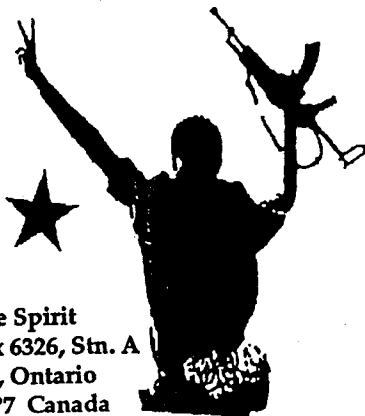
We have also published a few pamphlets recently which people can order from us. *Attack The Nazis Everywhere!* is a documentation of the anti-fascist movement in Germany. *Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Life Of Resistance* is a re-print of a December 1994 interview with political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. And for *International Women's Day 1995*, we published *Resistance Is Life! Women In The Armed Struggle*. We also participated in a joint publication entitled *Neo-Nazis And The War Against Women's Reproductive Freedom*. This pamphlet was jointly published with two Toronto groups, Anti-Racist Action (ARA) and the Jewish Feminist Anti-Fascist League (JFAFL).

This issue of *Arm The Spirit* is our biggest and most diverse yet. We have divided the magazine into five sections: EZLN, Kurdistan, Political Prisoners, Guerrilla, and Anti-Fascism. Again, we apologize for the long delay in publishing this issue.

If things go well, issue #18 will be out by the end of the summer, with at least one info bulletin before that time as well. Please contact us in the meantime for updates on any of the issues covered in this issue. And most importantly, stay informed and join the struggle to free Mumia!

Special thanks to -- for the artwork on this page.

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## ATS In Cyberspace

Arm The Spirit can be reached in a variety of ways on the Internet, via e-mail, ftp, gopher, and the world-wide web. News items and articles from Arm The Spirit are regularly posted to [alt.politics.radical-left](mailto:alt.politics.radical-left) and distributed on our listserv [ats-l](mailto:ats-l). We also post Kurdish news to [soc.culture.kurdish](mailto:soc.culture.kurdish) and operate a Kurdistan news and solidarity listserv called [kurd-l](mailto:kurd-l). Contact us via e-mail to subscribe to these on-line listservers.

[ats@etext.org](mailto:ats@etext.org)

<gopher://locust.cic.net:70/11/Politics/Arm.The.Spirit>

<ftp.etext.org/pub/Politics/Arm.The.Spirit>

## COMMUNIQUE

Dear Compas,

In response to the Mexican government choosing to employ military action against the Zapatistas, we found it necessary on Sunday, February 12, 1995, to carry out acts of sabotage against the New York branches of Bancomer and Banco Mexicano. In addition, numerous branches of Chase Manhattan Bank were hit. Chase has taken a particularly aggressive role in pushing the Mexican government to take military action against the people of Chiapas and the EZLN.

The New York Police Department offered no resistance. We take these actions in solidarity with the people of Chiapas.

**La Lucha Continua!  
Chase Out Of Chiapas!**

# Ongoing Call To International Socially-Conscious Prisoners

**INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL PRISONERS UNITE TO SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL  
ART AND WRITINGS AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY**

Sisters and Brothers,

More than 90 political prisoners from the USA, Canada, Germany, France, Chile, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, and Peru have contributed artworks, crafts, and writings to our collective project, "Arts And Writings Against The Death Penalty".

We are grateful to everyone inside who has contributed and to those on the street who have given our work a means of expression. The response from prisoners was perhaps no surprise, but the project has also been enthusiastically embraced by many people outside. The art and performance aspects of this unprecedented effort are reaching into new communities with our call for solidarity with Mumia and every person on Death Row.

We are being heard.

The art show recently concluded a month-long exhibition at the art gallery of the Adam Clayton Powell State Office Building in New York. Many other venues, including Jersey City and Newark, NJ, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, PA, Yale University, Atlanta, GA and throughout Europe have contacted us for dates to display the artwork throughout 1995. The performance event originally scheduled for January will be held in New York City on June 17, 1995.

Many of the art pieces contributed in the first call have already been sold with the condition that they will continue to travel with the exhibit. None of us, however, expected this project to carry on through the entire year. There is practical need to deliver some of the artwork by

June to those who have already purchased it. There will be many more opportunities to sell more artwork and crafts during the upcoming tour and funds for Mumia's defence are still urgently needed.

If, due to the deadline of the original call, you haven't had the chance to contribute, you can do so now. If you have already contributed, please consider contributing additional pieces of artwork. The project especially needs contributions by June 1, the date that we will need to deliver artwork to those who have purchased it in the previous six months. You can contribute works to:

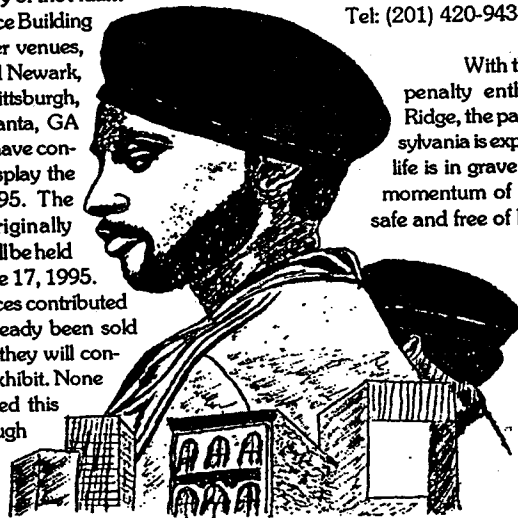
Political Prisoners Unite  
164 Lexington  
Jersey City, NJ  
07304 U.S.A.

Tel: (201) 420-9434

With the inauguration of death penalty enthusiast Governor Tom Ridge, the pace of executions in Pennsylvania is expected to pick up. Mumia's life is in grave danger. Let us build the momentum of our solidarity until he is safe and free of harm.

Tim Blunk  
Jihad Abdul Mumit  
Alberto Rodriguez  
Larry Giddings  
Kojo Boman Sababu  
Hanif Shabazz Bey  
Ricardo Jimenez  
Abdush Shakur

February 1995





# Communique From The Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee

## General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army

Mexico - February 9, 1995

To the people of Mexico:  
To the people and governments of the world:  
To the national and international press:

The Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee, General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army declares the following:

First: In response to the ultimatum of Ernesto Zedillo given on February 5th 1995 in the city of Queretaro, Queretaro, we say:

1. Ernesto Zedillo has now made a decision. Put between choosing between, for one side, favoring the peaceful transition to democracy, to defending the national sovereignty, to changing the direction of the current brutal path of the national economy and to giving a just and dignified solution to the demands of the Mexican indigenous; and, for the other side, leading the reaction, continuing with the flight of our riches in order to benefit the foreign stock market, continuing with the economic program based on lies and satisfying the anxiousness for vengeance of the plantation owners and powerful businessmen in south-eastern Mexico. Made to choose, Zedillo has opted to be humble and servile with the powerful, to be haughty and arrogant with the humble.

2. Ernesto Zedillo has given an ultimatum to the rebel forces of the EZLN. He immediately received applause and expressions of loyalty from the men of the gallows and the knife in Chiapas, the support of the usurpers of government in the Southeast and the satisfaction of the powerful foreign capitalists.

3. The EZLN has given constant demonstrations of its disposition to dialogue. Proof of this will can be provided by the governmental representatives with regards to the solution to the armed movement of the EZLN.

4. Now, inexplicably, when the representation of the EZLN had finalized the details for a new meeting with the governmental delegates and when among the indigenous communities which support our just cause, the points of the agenda for the closed-door dialogue were beginning to be discussed, we receive this ultimatum.

5. The EZLN laments this surprising turn in the disposition of the federal Executive. The EZLN does not bow its head before threats. For years we have lived that way, threatened by the mighty men and their private armies. Tired of this, we took up arms to demand that which is the right of whatever human being in whatever part of the world: liberty, democracy and justice. Under threats we will not talk; we will

respond to intimidations, reinforcing our decision to risk the ultimate consequences in order to obtain a satisfactory, just and dignified solution to our needs.

6. Zedillo attempts to make the Congress of the Union an accomplice in the use of military force to confront our cause. Protected by a Congress with a PRF majority, Zedillo wants to obtain the legal endorsement to suspend individual rights, to declare martial law and to authorize the massive and indiscriminate use of the federal Army against the insurrectionary indigenous people.

7. The dialogue that the bad government attempted was an effort to bring the EZLN to its knees. It was misled, since January 1st, 1994, we live on foot. On foot we will talk or on foot we will fight, on foot we will live or on foot we will die.

8. The delivery of the wealth of the national subsoil, especially the petroleum, is what is at the root of the current governmental decision. In the top level government circles of Mexico and the United States, the existence of rich, high quality oil fields in the lands of Chiapas is common knowledge. The EZLN is a disturbance to the treasonous plans of the supreme government. This is the price of the loan: it will have to be paid with Mexican blood, and with indigenous blood especially, in order to pay off the debt.

The supreme government prepares the criminal blow, prepares the mass media, the Legislative and Judicial powers, its armed forces and its paramilitaries. The EZLN prepares the resistance. There is no dialogue now. Rather than talk, the bad government made a call to arms.

Second: Today, February 9th, 1995, at 4pm, hundreds of troops of the federal army took possession of the town halls in San Andres Sacamach, Simojovel and Sabanilla, and reinforced the garrisons with thousands of soldiers in Ocosingo, Altamirano, and Las Margaritas. Minutes later, the bad government announced by means of a radio transmitter and in the voice of Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon, a series of declarations and threats regarding the EZLN and our just cause.

Third: With regard to the detention of some people in Mexico City and in the state of Veracruz, who, it is said, belong to the EZLN, we are waiting for information about these people to be able to clarify whether they are or are not members of our army. As we have shown in previous communiques, the EZLN always has acknowledged that it has forces in other states in the country, but all are under the orders of this CCRI-CG of the EZLN to not carry out any military offensive against any governmental force or its installations.

Fourth: Regarding the serious accusation that Zedillo makes against our EZLN, saying that we refuse to dialogue and that we were preparing for a series of violent acts in order to extend our territory, we declare firmly that this is a lie. The disposition to dialoguing and to a just and dignified solution to the conflict has been demonstrated in the statements of our leaders and in the actions to reduce the tensions, which we

## LETTER FROM THE EZLN

February 11, 1995 - Chiapas, Mexico

To the people of Mexico  
To the national and international press  
To the peoples of the world

The Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee, General Command of the EZLN

We have made a call to all of our brothers and sisters of Mexico to detain this genocidal war that the bad government is waging against us.

The federal government is acting with lies, it is carrying out a dirty war in our villages. Yesterday around noon, 14 helicopters bombed the area around Morelia and Gamucha, as well as shot artillery fire in the area under Zapatista control, thousands of federal soldiers have penetrated into the interior of the jungle, via Monte Libano, Agua Azul, Santa Lucia, La Gamucha Champes, San Agustin, Guadalupe Tepeyac and others. They are surrounding us with death and ugliness. We, the Zapatistas, as troops and civilians, up to this point, have done everything possible to fall back, but now we do not have any other option except to defend ourselves and to defend our villages, thousands of civilians have left their homes.

Brothers and sisters, the government of Ernesto Zedillo is killing us, it is killing children, it is attacking women and raping them.

We ask the people of Mexico and all the people of the world to do something to stop this war.

Again we ask you, brothers and sisters, don't leave us alone.

We will act with dignity.

**Liberty, Justice, and Democracy!**

Fraternally,

The Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee, General Command of the EZLN



(Translated by Cindy Arnold, NCDM volunteer)



agreed to in the meeting on January 15, 1995 with the Secretary of State. At all times the EZLN has given demonstrations of its commitment to a just and dignified political solution to the conflict. The supreme government, through the mouth of its representative Esteban Moctezuma Barragán, did nothing but lie to the people of Mexico and lie to us.

The EZLN denies completely that it was trying to buy time or preparing bellicose actions that would break its commitment to an indefinite offensive cease fire while the negotiations for a stable treaty were developing. The EZLN's delays in responding to the government's communications were the result of our complying with our obligation to consult the members of this CCRI-CG of the EZLN, and the great distances and problems with communication that exist in the mountains of the Mexican Southeast also caused the delay in our answers.

It is evident that the supreme government is ignoring the grave conditions of isolation in which that same government has always kept the indigenous communities, and which make communication difficult.

But, above all, it is our lack of trust regarding the supposed will of the government which impedes the possibility that the discussions dedicated to a political solution continue. The climate of belligerence of the guardias blancas in the states, the forced removals of people from their land and the lack of a serious proposal for dialogue on the part of the governmental representatives makes a serious meeting impossible. From the Zapatista perspective the governmental decision to take a military solution to the conflict was made in the United States of America and Moctezuma Barragán only tried to gain time, feigning willingness while the supreme government prepared the farce of

detentions in Veracruz and Mexico City, finalizing details of the war and waiting for the end of the rainy season to carry out the planned massacre. The two-sided face of the governmental representatives today now can be seen behind the arrest orders and the military bayonets.

Fifth: With respect to the calumny about the leadership of the EZLN not being indigenous nor from Chiapas, the EZLN declares that it has no higher command than the Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee-General Command and that it is composed of, in its totality, indigenous people of Chiapas.

With respect to the origins of subcomandante Marcos, as he has stated since January 1st, 1994, he is not from Chiapas nor indigenous, but he is Mexican and he obeys our political and organizational direction and no one else. The military questions are his direct responsibility, and there is no higher military authority than his, and in our structure, no one else has the military rank of subcomandante.

With respect to the ties of the EZLN to the organization called "National Liberation Forces", the EZLN, during interviews, letters and communiqués, has explained that in its beginnings members of diverse armed organizations in the country came together, that from there was born the EZLN and that this, little by little, has been taken on by the indigenous communities until they have become the political and military leadership of the EZLN.

To the name of the "National Liberation Forces" as the antecedents of the EZLN, the government should add those of all of the guerrilla organizations of the 70s and 80s, Arturo Gamiz, Lucio Cabanas, Genaro Vazquez Rojas, Emiliano Zapata, Francisco Villa, Vicente Guerrero, Jose Maria Morelos y Pavon, Miguel Hidalgo and Costilla, Benito Juarez, and many others who are now erased from the history books because a people with a memory are a rebellious people.

We reiterate, the EZLN is an organization of Mexicans, for the most part indigenous, directed by a committee that brings together the distinct ethnic groups in Chiapas and absolutely does not have, in its composition, any member who is not indigenous.

Sixth: With respect to the threat of the government to enter the Zapatista communities with federal troops and police in an alleged search for the one they accuse of being subcomandante Marcos, the EZLN declares that while it may appear as a good excuse, it will resist and combat in self defense if it is assaulted by the governmental forces.

Seventh: The CCRI-CG of the EZLN reiterates its disposition to a political solution to the conflict by means of dialogue without threats, pressures or military attacks.

Eighth: If, regardless of this reiteration of our disposition to dialogue, the bad government goes forward with its war plans, the EZLN declares, now, that we will not give up. We will fight on foot, on foot we will die, but we will not return to living, not ever, on our knees.

**Democracy!  
Freedom!  
Justice!**

From the mountains of southeastern Mexico,

## Interview With Subcomandante Ana Maria

In the first interview of a Zapatista commander with the press since the army offensive, subcomandante Ana Maria states that they can no longer back off from a confrontation with the federal army. She said that the EZLN avoided confrontations with federal troops in order to demonstrate their intentions to engage in dialogue, but the actions by the government were forcing them to reconsider. She referred to the arrests, torture, and bombing of civilian population. She stated that the people that have been arrested are not members of the EZLN, and accused the government of carrying out a witch-



hunt. She said that in the town of Rosario Ibarra, Ocosingo, a village leader was tortured and his arm was cut off his body. The women in the village were threatened with losing their kids if they did not speak up and denounce EZLN sympathizers. She also said that some communities have been bombarded.

Ana Maria said that federal troops kicked out all civilians and the Red Cross upon their arrival to Guadalupe Tepeyac. She said that on the 10th and 11th about 30 helicopters were carrying out low flights over the jungle while hundreds of tanks and transport vehicles had made it into small villages around the jungle.

Ana Maria declared that she has no information of confrontations taking place with the federal troops, but that the EZLN will fight if atrocities continue. She stated: "The EZLN is very big and it is everywhere, not only in the jungle." Her interview took place in the Los Altos region of Chiapas, outside of the jungle region that is surrounded by troops.

(Source: Austin Comité de Solidaridad con Chiapas y Mexico)

**Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary  
Committee, General Command of the  
Zapatista National Liberation Army**

February 1995

(Translated by Cindy Arnold, volunteer, National Commission for Democracy in Mexico)

## ¡ZAPATISTAS! Documents Of The New Mexican Revolution

A comprehensive collection of EZLN documents consisting of interviews, manifestos, and communiqués in which the Zapatistas tell their own stories in their own words, free of the silences and distortions of established world media.

352 Pages, \$12 - Published Sept. 1994 By:  
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# Interview With Subcomandante Marcos

Interviews By Epigmenio Ibarra In Aguascalientes, Chiapas

*For the Zapatista Army of National Liberation the civil movement which "has become weaker due to internal wear and tear or because they bet on banners which had no future" is one of the most disillusioning events of the year. In the opinion of Subcomandante Marcos, civil society "abandoned us in the convocation of the Democratic National Convention, as well as in the help they were giving us."*

*Nevertheless, Marcos believes that this does not call for discounting the experience of the CND: "If it is not the Convention then it must be another type of movement which can see that the problem is not one of slogans, but the method of work which is used to raise them and convoke people to new mobilizations."*

*Marcos sees a "more difficult" Mexico on the political field, because among other things the electoral struggle did not serve to change the "one-party system". Without mentioning names or positions, the insurgent leader said he mistrusted those leaders who "in the final analysis are making deals with the government, hidden agreements."*

*The precise problem is not making those deals, "but doing it in a hidden manner and with the government which is the enemy, a government willing to stay in power by not acknowledging anything which occurs around them."*

**That abandonment of which you speak, could it not be considered an indication that the cause of the EZLN has no future?**

That's one reading. The way we read it is that it is an abandonment not of Zapatismo, but of the possibility of a peaceful change (...) the end to those civilian mobilizations is a call to the EZLN so that we take the road which we had suspended in January and ratified in August during the first session of the Convention. We interpret this as a call from those social sectors which are the most dispossessed to return to combat against the government. We may be mistaken, it may be that in reality the Zapatista demands are out of sync, that they don't fit in the historic moment which the country is living, but we don't believe that. We would not have taken up arms or continued if we believed that our demands had no echo...

I think we are correct when we say that the faltering of the civil movement calls us to the military movement, that is the reading we make of it. That reading in January made us accept the cease-fire, later the dialogue, later the Convention and our submission to it, now it obliges us to make the decision to renew hostilities.

**If you look at this, there were 6,000 in the first convention; at a second meeting there were, more than 400. This weakening, doesn't it also call for you to take the offensive in political terms?**

Look, we believe this weakening is above all, an exhaustion with the methods, that the democratic movement in Mexico - and here is included the entire spectrum, from the ultra-left and the left to the centrist sectors which seek a democratic change - have arrived at exhaustion of the old methods of work: too many meetings, demonstrations without a defined direction, a lot of emphasis upon "joining" movements. The problem with these joint movements is that you have to find something which really mobilizes everyone, so the juncture cannot affect some and not others. The only juncture which really affects everyone is the war. This is what allowed the development of the great mobilizations in January and I expect they will do something in December.

We also see that the lack of a national political force is being pointed out, a new one, modern one, as

Tacho says, which carries a banner which finds common agreements and places in contact all those sectors and above all which proposes a new form of working and a new form of organizing. We think, and I think still, that this can be the Convention at some point. If not the Convention, then it must be another type of movement which can do this. The problem is not the banners one raises but the problem is also the method of work which is used to carry them out and mobilize people.

We now confront a more difficult political scenario in Mexico, a Mexico which for a moment lost its skepticism about legal organizations of the left, lost its distance in respect to political parties due to distrust, suspicion, lost its skepticism about the possibility of presenting a united front before the one-party system. To this was added the fact that the electoral struggle was sabotaged and the one-party system imposed once again. This leaves people with an enormous frustration. So what's next? What do I do? It's mistrust for those who, finally are making deals. And making deals is not the problem, doing it behind closed doors is, and with the government which it is said we are fighting against, a government willing to stay in power any way possible, in a historic blindness which all us Mexicans will pay. I wish only they would pay, but all of us will pay.

Now there is this element of an armed movement. We think like this, the people turn to the left, they turn to the right, and finally they turn again to the Mexican southeast and see a group of men and women who are armed, masked, which is saying the same thing they want to say, but with arms. If all else fails, let's try the war again. This is the reading we make. We think that when we say no, there are many people who expect that, and when we say we are uncomfortable we are responding in some way to the sentiments of broad sectors of the population.

**You have distinguished yourselves by making political use of armed struggle. In several of your declarations yesterday, it seems that their political use is exhausted, that what comes is the use of armed struggle as armed struggle, because there is no other way. In the tactical**

**sense, you say there is no retreat, we will have to fight with the villages. You foresee the massive exodus of entire villages. No political or military outlet can be seen to the use of arms in that sense.**

We are surrounded. We are surrounded in military terms since January. Unfortunately, the political encirclement we now suffer does not come from the government but from the exhaustion of those social sectors which gave us oxygen before, not in terms of an exchange, but to the extent that they took our banners and tried to carry them forward.

So, when they begin to leave those banners we have to pick up what we have. If the climate is political, that is to say, if there is a political opening you can use a weapon to point it out. But when there is no longer that, one intuitively believes that the weapons have to open that space again, firing again to make politics possible. What we understand is that December of 94 is not January of 94, we are in a sharper military correlation, balanced against us more. We no longer have the element of surprise. The enemy is in position to annihilate us and we have to acknowledge something. In these circumstances we cannot make a guerrilla military proposal with the territory under our control. We cannot because the composition of our army is too rooted in the villages. We cannot pull the soldiers outside their families and abandon their families. Either we go with them, or we stay with them, that's what I'm saying.

In military terms, the situation is balanced against us. But we believe we must do something and when we feel we can no longer speak or feel that our speech



has no echo, no receptivity, well we always have the weapon.

**You have always said that if war begins again it will be difficult to stop. Being**

**surrounded as you are, this would be a very painful, costly war, even more difficult to stop, isn't this true?**

Yes, because a war in that sense creates a lot of hatred which accumulates and which is discharged sooner or later. So convincing an Army that they should hold back after they have already held back and nothing has happened - everything remained the same. What argument is useful for the Zapatistas: stop, try a peace negotiation, when the one which happened left everything the same? Nothing changed in the national panorama and nothing changed in the regional panorama. There is nothing I can say to make them believe that the peace negotiations were useful (...) the same class structure is in place, the same racism, the same governmental structure, the same radical speeches and reactionary practices. So no one can convince an army which tried one road to return to it because the dead have accumulated.

It was difficult to stop our people in January after the first casualties. If the war begins again it will be more difficult and I would dare to say it would be impossible. Add to that skepticism, that disillusion of having tried the dialogue without results.

(...) Zapatista forces may be encircled but Zapatismo has extended to all the state of Chiapas, in every rural zone and some urban zones (...) these are Zapatistas and they have casualties. The number of dead, of disappeared, the repression which comes from the governmental structure, whether they be arbitrary actions of the federal army, or assassinations by the White Guards or disappearances or evictions of the Judicial Police or Public Safety. So these compañeros say to us: the cease-fire has ended, why are we preserving it? You have the armed force there and you are our Army. You have to defend us, you have to do something, otherwise why did you take up arms?

(...) When we say that Robledo formalizes the end to the ceasefire we are saying it has been done (...) it has been broken by governmental forces and now it's our turn to respond because that pressure comes

from outside. In reality all the peaceful civic movement is being hit harder and in more radical ways each time, and it is telling us (...) no more. They're counting their dead and saying, how many more must die before you do something, how many more dead so that everything stays the same and you do nothing. That's what takes us to that conclusion.

If at the national level there is nothing which gives us an out, a way to get to the regional level; they are telling us that the door to open is the door to war, and I'm not referring solely to the Zapatistas. I'm referring to a good part of the official campesino movement which is exhausted and views the imposition of Robledo Rincon with terror. In addition to Rincon there is a state congress which in its totality is in favor of Patrocinio Gonzalez Garrido. So, there was an army which took up arms, there were casualties, destruction, threats, invasions, exhaustion, a blockade and everything is still the same? If the people are not willing to tolerate it, to accept it, they have to turn to something and they turn to us.

**You said no to a dialogue with Camacho, then no to Madrazo, now no to the dialogue which President Zedillo proposes... So, who will you talk to? (...) About what... Is it still possible?**

(...) With Camacho there was (...) what I was saying to you (...) a radical proposal and a reactionary practice, or a "no change" practice. Here's an example; the local elections. We asked that elections for governor, municipal president, and state deputies all occur at the same time, that the state renew itself at the same time, and they answer by keeping everything separate and also inserting the state election process in the federal election process, in a conflict which has yet to be resolved. We see that and say no to a fake dialogue, to an empty shell of an agreement, an agreement from above which leaves the base causes of the uprising untouched.

We could have benefited directly from that, we could have said: orale, we'll make an arrangement and take a few things. We know that the structure had not been touched and another Zapatista Army somewhere else would rise up sooner or later under that same structure. That's when we said; no real solutions, no to a dialogue. Madrazo came and proposed the same thing or nothing, and then the compañeros say no and say: well, what are we going to talk about, we tried once and there is nothing new. In Zedillo's

case; well, we need a sign, we need to see something besides speeches, to make us know that there is a willingness to resolve these conflicts by other means. That can only be the willingness to deeply transform Southeast Mexico.

I think the State is not willing to do this. I think that in order to do this they have to sacrifice one or another part: either they sacrifice an indigenous movement without the capacity to contribute to the national economy, an indigenous sector which is not income-producing even as a labor force; or sacrifice a sector which in the economic modernization of Mexico is also not income-producing, the large cattle ranchers and landowners - not even in their methods of production - and which represent in political terms a big obstacle for any reforms in development no matter how tepid they are.

The conflict has taken these two polarities to demand that the other disappear. The landholders are not willing to leave this alone; the indigenous people will have to pay, they say, the boldness of January must be paid by all of the indigenous people even if they are not Zapatistas. And the indigenous people say: we cannot go back; either we go after everything or we'll be left with nothing, because that is the experience of yesterday. The federal government has to - and here the landowners are clearer, the cattleranchers are clearer - opt for our annihilation, to annihilate us and leave their hands free in order to adjust accounts with the indigenous population. And we say, it's either us or them, one of us has to sacrifice those two elements. The government has annihilated another means. First through the previous governors, later with the politics they followed; trying to paint the exterior of the house although the inside was rotting. This is what Sedesol did, after May of 1993; a lot of money came here in an effort to keep up appearances. But the same communities which were to receive the money were the ones which took up arms on January 1, 1994.

That is why we acknowledge as a clear sign of change of an effort to resolve the conflict, a willingness to do what the Mexican revolution never did in the Southeast. What changes it did make in other parts of the country, gave way to other problems of social injustice. But in the Chiapanecan countryside this never happened. Here we have the same problems which existed in the days of Porfirio Diaz. If you remember what came out in the press about the ranches on the coast. Those ranches were using the same company stores of Porfirism, and this is true in many places (...) in those in the jungle (...) it exists in its most absurd form.

**Let's talk about what you want, what these changes represent, this acceptance, so we can make an agreement.**

Yes, but when someone is armed, if you ask them what they want, they tell you why they struggle. In this case a Zapatista (...) will tell you, well; the 11 points (...) in summary, liberty, justice, democracy for all Mexicans. And you answer by saying, no not that, I offer you this and this, so give me something. From the Zapatista Army nothing will come that is not a repetition of the same democracy, liberty, justice. We did it in January, we did it in the Cathedral of San Cristobal de las Casas, we've done it all year. The only thing which changed was when we opened ourselves to the convention and the electoral process in August, whose results we're still suffering from. Look how strange it is that the 8th of August in this place we called upon civil society to make the effort for a



peaceful transition, and here it is the 8th of December and we're saying; it's exhausted, let's go to war.

Now I want to ask you; when you speak about a peaceful transition to democracy you said it might happen on August 21st. Does this mean that: if the PRI won there would be no transition? Must the PRI be defeated by any means, or can you co-exist, negotiate, work with a government of the PRI?

We think not. The PRI structure is not just a party structure it is the structure of a political system. To obtain a victory, the PRI must cut a lot of deals, it has a lot of debts to pay at a lot of levels. Concretely the state of Chiapas makes these compromises with the indigenous political bosses, the cattle rancher political bosses, and the commercial political bosses. So, how can there be democracy with these anti-democratic structures? What permits domination at the national level is the same thing which permits it at the local and regional level.

A process of democratization means sacrificing the party system of the State, and this means sacrificing the party. In Zedillo's case it is clear what debts he had to assume and what pacts he made with all the levels of government, including his commitment with such an unpopular figure as Robledo Rincon; in order to get power. We have said, the PRI could be in power, if there were something else to counterbalance it, to make it act like a government and not like a system which dominates everything.

**So what about Zapatismo, couldn't a political Zapatismo counterbalance that, not necessarily in military terms?**

The problem with Zapatismo is that in military terms we are cornered in a part of the country, and in political terms it has many limitations. It is armed, illegal, masked, it doesn't have an identity. So Zapatismo is limited to the calls it can make from the mountains of the Mexican southeast. We think there can be a peaceful Zapatismo which struggles for the same platform. But it's like Tacho pointed out to the Convention, it's no good if it offers something new to people but does it in the same way. It can't be a new man with the old body; we call ourselves this now, but we're the same thing as always, a proven failure. We create skepticism this way, disillusionment, frustration and an armed movement. Because the responsibility for the birth of the Zapatista Army is also that of the political parties of opposition, of the political organizations of opposition, which for an important social sector, no longer provided an alternative.

For an armed movement like the Zapatista Army to arise and hold social consensus requires not just the failure of the government, it is also the failure of the opposition. And if you look at the banners of the EZLN and the banners of the opposition you can see that they are the same. So why does one create so much cynicism and the other so much fear. Cynicism for one because in the long run they negotiate their platforms, and deal, a very old strategy, and for the other because that banner comes from a group of men and women who are armed. So there is nowhere to go, and we feel that we have a great many limitations including that due to our clumsiness when we speak; we don't recognize fear.

I was telling Major Moises that in January everything was simple; the world was simple: we were the

## Excerpt From Chase Manhattan Bank's Emerging Markets Group Memo

Mexico-Political Update - January 13, 1995

(...)Chiapas

The uprising in the southern state of Chiapas is now one-year old and, apparently, no nearer to resolution. The leader, or spokesman, of the movement, sub-commandante Marcos, remains adamant in his demand that the incumbent PRI governor resign and be replaced by the PRD candidate who, Marcos argues, was deprived of victory by government fraud in the recent election. Marcos continues to lobby for widespread social and economic reform in the state. Incidents continue between the local police and military authorities and those sympathetic to the Zapatista movement, as the insurgency is called, and local peasant groups who are sympathetic to Marcos and his cronies.

While Zedillo is committed to a diplomatic and political solution to the stand-off in Chiapas, it is difficult to imagine that the current environment

good guys and the bad guy were the rest of the world. But after the ceasefire when we came into the public light and began to have dialogue, the world became more complicated, more political, less military, and for an army to take a political terrain is to take a new terrain, one which it does not know. In that sense the image of when we took the cities in January was repeated, we committed those errors. When we entered politics we entered a terrain we do not know and in which we made mistakes. But I want to remind you that in the long run we have the recourse of returning. When we failed in the cities we returned to the mountains. If we fail at the politics we return to the arms.

**And isn't this a retreat instead of a return, to go to war, to go to die?**

We evaluate it this way. They asked me yesterday if we realize what is the proportion of the military forces, if we don't believe it is suicide to break the ceasefire or take some military action. We don't value it that way. If we did, January would not be, we would never have come into existence. In military terms the EZLN is an absurdity. What makes it possible, real, is the banner it carries.

At this moment in which we live, they took us to the alley of which dignity, which is of more value for us, weighs more than being alive or dead. It is the problem of dignity which takes us to war or peace. For the Zapatistas to remain in peace would be undignified and to fight, to have dignity as in December of 93. You cannot propose that to a Zapatista...

**You gave your opponent little space to manoeuvre for a dialogue, you told him to take his head off.**

My opponent left me little maneuvering space. To dialogue he said, surrender. We are at two extremes; they go to an extreme, we go to an extreme. We can do nothing else. The dialogue of the government can be very flexible but its practice is; surrender and we'll dialogue. Accept that all you did was useless. Try telling that to an Army. All of you trained yourselves, you suffered, you prepared, you rose up, your people died, your brothers, your children, everything

will yield a peaceful solution. Moreover, to the degree that the monetary crisis limits the resources available to the government for social and economic reforms, it may prove difficult to win popular support for the Zedillo administration's plans for Chiapas. More relevant, Marcos and his supporters may decide to embarrass the government with an increase in local violence and force the administration to cede to Zapatista demands and accept an embarrassing political defeat.

The alternative is a military offensive to defeat the insurgency which would create an international outcry over the use of violence and the suppression of indigenous rights.

While Chiapas, in our opinion, does not pose a fundamental threat to Mexican political stability, it is perceived to be so by many in the investment community. The government will need to eliminate the Zapatistas to demonstrate their effective control of the national territory and of security policy. (...)

is the same, let's talk. (...) They [CCRI] see nothing, nothing, not even a small sign that says to them that the enemy has intentions of following another path besides surrender or confrontation (...) and hear me when I say, real signs not just speeches (...) just analyze Chiapas in December of 93 and December of 94 (...) it is the same...

(...) The number of troops has not decreased, it has increased. Their positions have changed, they have a base inside the jungle. The belligerence of the ranchers: they have more operating ground, the evictions they have made have been tolerated. Add to the armed force of the ranchers the armed force of the government. In political terms you have a PRI government linked to the most reactionary sectors in Chiapanecan history... We can't even say, let's hold on even with Robledo because there is a great civilian mobilization. We have no real civilian force to intercede, it doesn't matter that they like the communiques and the stories of Heriberto and Eva. There is nothing, nothing I can say to the committee (...) something is changing... I have to be honest and say nothing is changing (...) we have to prepare for the worst.

**What do you think about Robledo's offer to resign if you give up your arms?**

(...) I think he ratifies the fact that the government speaks through him, that he does not take the situation very seriously. It's a really bad joke, to be playing with fire by supposing that you can exchange an imposed government for an entire movement which has risen up for justice and with dignity. Positions of this kind assure that there will be war. There is no doubt, they are mocking us, as though our position on the 6th of December were a joke. No way, this issue is not even up for discussion.

**No deal?**

The arms of the Zapatistas are not up for discussion. No Deal.

(From: *La Jornada* - December 9, 1994, pg. 12-13. Translated by: Cecilia Rodriguez - National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, USA)





# "Things Are Going To Be Difficult For The EZLN"

## Interview With Salvador Castaneda About The Zapatistas' Struggle

Salvador Castaneda, born in 1946, was a founding member of the 'Movimiento de Accion Revolucionaria' (MAR), a political-military organization which organized a guerrilla struggle in Mexico in the 1970s. After the defeat of the MAR, he spent several years in prison. In 1990, he and other former guerrilla founded the Centre for Historical Studies of Armed Movements (CIHMA). Juan Chicoy interviewed Salvador Castaneda on December 5, 1994 in Mexico City. We are translating this interview from issue #373 of the German-language magazine *Analyse & Kritik* (AK).

Mexico is a country where political-military organizations have had little success in the past. None of the armed groups in the 60s and 70s managed to become a political force at the national level, unlike the guerrilla movements in El Salvador and Nicaragua for example. Today, as one phase of the Latin America guerrilla comes to an end, and in which many former guerrilla organizations have bid farewell to the revolution (ERP, M-19), the EZLN seems to be introducing a new phase of armed revolutionary struggle. How could this organization develop so quickly - in a war lasting less than two weeks - into a political force of such significance?

Before January 1, 1994, there were ten years of clandestine work. In principle, that's the same thing we did, but under completely different geographical conditions. Because the region is so isolated geographically, the EZLN were able to build up their organization without being noticed. There were not confronted with a whole variety of security risks which our urban guerrilla or the groups of Lucio Cabanas and Genaro Vazquez in the Sierra or Guerrero had to deal with. There were no military confrontations for ten years, they did not seek out the federal army and fight them. When they took over five towns on January 1, they did not encounter any resistance. The army simply wasn't there. It can be hardly be considered a military victory to state they were able to defeat the local police forces.

In May 1993 there was a clash with the federal army...

That was the only one. Afterwards the EZLN retreated, and the federal army retreated as well, but not because they couldn't militarily deal with the EZLN, but rather due to political factors: The government did not want to risk the passage of the NAFTA accord and the August election.

The retreat of the EZLN forces after the January 1 occupations was also orderly because they hadn't had any major problems with the federal army. The only military confrontation was the struggle around the Rancho Nuevo barracks. They weren't able to seize the barracks. They have certainly examined these experiences and prepared for future confrontations. But it's difficult to assess the military strength of the EZLN, because other than the fight at Rancho Nuevo, they haven't really been in any real fights.

The present conditions all favour the federal army. They have been able to expand and strengthen their ring of defenses with military advisors and modern weapons. They have unloaded four shiploads of weapons from the harbour at Veracruz. The federal army is in a position where they have many opportu-

nities to inflict blows on the EZLN.

Don't you think that the jungle provides a tactical advantage for the EZLN?

Yes, it won't be easy for the federal army to advance into there. They could only do this if they take heavy losses, and even then they would only find the EZLN in limited areas, and they are well prepared. But the federal army has many possibilities, because the EZLN units are now effectively localized. The federal army can call in fighter jets and helicopters. The EZLN can't leave their zones. In that sense, they are trapped.

### No Bases Outside Of Chiapas

The EZLN claim to be organized nationwide.

Who knows? Up until now, they haven't shown much to prove this. What's clear, however, and this is a big mistake, they don't have their own press system with a nationwide distribution. They don't have a radio station, by means of which they could coordinate civil resistance. Apart from the three normal newspapers which publish their communiques, there's nothing. And the rest of the media is firmly controlled by the government.

Why can't the Democratic National Convention (CND) provide this type of logistical and political structure?

The CND was created in a climate of peace. If the ceasefire collapses, the convention will cease to function. If things get really serious, then the leaders and the radical elements of the CND will be imprisoned, because they are perfectly localized.

When Marcos, in his most recent statements, began taking on a more radical tone and hinted at the resumption of the armed struggle, some CND leaders started to criticize him. The CND exists because of the conditions of the ceasefire, but when the ceasefire is over, the CND will disappear. It cannot be an effective support for the EZLN. When the state opts for a "military solution", the CND will not be able to offer logistical and political support and the media will be silenced. The EZLN forgot one important thing: to create bases of support outside of their zone. Now they say, yes, we have a group called 'Soundso' in Sierra Gorda/Queretaro, but you don't see any evidence of this. So why did they tell us this? Their statements are starting to lose their effectiveness. They once said: If the PRI uses fraud during the elections, there will be an uprising. They said the same thing

about Zedillo taking office on December 1. But nothing happened. And when the PRI governor takes office in Chiapas on December 8, nothing will happen.

But the situation in Chiapas is different. Unlike the rest of the country, the situation is really explosive, and unlike the CND, the Council of Campesinos and Indigenous Organizations (CEOIC) is a real force.

But they aren't armed.

Who knows?

Well, they haven't shown any arms up until now. They are civil resistance, something which is much easier to control.

### Limited Military Experience

But that depends on the degree of this resistance. Besides, it's not that difficult to get weapons in Mexico.

That problem isn't one of procuring weapons. The problem is firepower, the military preparedness of these people (something they don't have), a united military command (which doesn't exist). They are not in a position to defeat a well-trained and well-armed professional army. Only the EZLN could do this - eventually. The CEOIC wants to achieve a peaceful transition. This is completely impossible. Even if they can achieve this in their own state, they can't do this at the national level, therefore the state apparatus still has all of its options open.

The EZLN continually state that they are not the avant garde. But that's just confusion. Of course they're the avant garde, even if they say they don't want to be. The decisive factor isn't what you say, it's what you do. If you are the first to take up the struggle, you polarize things and you have to assume the responsibility of organizing all the resistance and coordinating all of the civil forces which arise during the offensive. I think it was a mistake to go to the negotiations table after only two weeks of struggle. They should have carried out many more military actions, to prove that they are capable of inflicting serious blows against the federal army. Then they





could have entered into negotiations in a stronger position.

**What are the EZLN's military options, if war breaks**

**out once again, which is not unlikely? What do think their major weaknesses are?**

Not having carried out more military actions was a big mistake. The second mistake was immediately going to the negotiations table, thereby giving the state the option of introducing a low-intensity war, meanwhile their hands were tied by the negotiations. The state had already declared a general amnesty for all the inhabitants of the EZLN zone. All of that is tied to a continental plan for fighting uprisings.

## Internal Political Differences?

**Do think it's correct to speak of a low-intensity war?**

Yes. The negotiations and the amnesty gave back the initiative to the state, something which it had lost at the beginning of January, meanwhile the EZLN's position was wearing out. It's a war of attrition. Simply the fact that there has been a state of emergency for an entire year, and that their army of 6,000 cannot produce anything because they must always been ready to fight. Sure, something like that is going to create internal difficulties. It means exhausting their bases of support. How long can something like that last? The federal army can wait for as long as it wants to. It has all the advantages, economic resources, fresh troops, etc.

What's more, there are internal differences within the EZLN regarding the conception of the struggle. The statements released by Mayor Moises and Tacho are fundamentally different than those from Marcos. Marcos always insists that they are not trying to seize power. But Moises says: We are going to seize power and carry out a socialist revolution. But in general, only Marcos is taken seriously in the media. Why? He's a good speaker, an author, a poet. Moises and Tacho don't speak good Spanish. Marcos is counting on support from sectors who, when things get serious, won't want to have anything to do with the Zapatistas. The first intellectuals are already starting to bail out. The convention is just designed to fill in a gap which exists, where they should have been working in the past to build up a political and logistical structure. They organized this convention two weeks before the election! After the elections, this is supposed to mobilize the society. But how? The so-called society is factionalized, the remains of the left are splintered. They put their faith in the PRD. But that didn't work. Today the PRD are entering a government which tomorrow will attempt to eliminate the EZLN. They are in an extremely difficult situation.

Besides, the state has been able to capitalize on the nice demand for "peace" to suit its own needs. "Peace" is good for the ruling class, it has always lived in peace, and that's why they're still in power. And the intellectuals in the CND use this formula in the same abstract way. In the end, the majority of the population voted for "peace" on August 21, namely the state apparatus, because this sort of "peace" is managed by the state. The Zapatista Army for National Liberation cannot rely on such people. These people cannot offer real, effective, consistent support.

**But those are the objective resources. How can**

**they change this situation?**

Those are the resources at the moment. But this can't last. The CND wants to see a peaceful transition to democracy, a transitional government. What kind of government? Who will create it? The CND will reply: Not us. Apart from that, they don't have the political power to do so anyway. In my opinion, the EZLN are trying to buy time in order to build up bases of support outside their zone, which is something they don't have. But at the same time, this delay is working to the advantage of the government. The mistake was to start to war without having already done all of that. That is the same mistake which we in the MAR made in the 70s. Some of our comrades discussed this with Marcos in August. We just don't fit into your scheme of things was his reply.

The entire politics of the EZLN since January seems very improvised and voluntary to me. On the first of January, they release a communique stating: Vamos, let's march to Mexico City and take it over! I thought to myself, What was that all about? And less than two weeks later they were negotiating. What does an army of national liberation have to negotiate about if its goal is to seize power? Can you make deals with the state about taking power?

## The Strategy Of Peaceful Transition Has Failed

**I don't think the objective behind the negotiations was to win concessions from the government, but rather to bring about an oppositional force in the country and to create a political movement.**

Yes, that was also the idea behind the convention. But that was a mistaken assumption. We can see the results. I think that now they are trying to organize their own structure. But that's not easy and it takes time. There is the danger that this decisive mistake has fundamentally changed their political concept. The EZLN is moving towards the position of becoming a pressure group for negotiations. In fact, that's the exact position they are in now, and it's not clear how they can get out of this. That is something which has happened to several armed movements in Latin America, in Columbia for example. They sit in the mountains, but they never seize power, they inflict some blows on the state, but only to win a better position for negotiations. In Columbia they've been there for 40 years, and their chances are getting worse year by year.

I also believe that the EZLN thought that they could bring about a peaceful transition to democracy. But these possibilities have been exhausted: the negotiations, the PRD, the CND.

**But it was not necessarily false to enter into alliances, including democratic sectors of the bourgeoisie.**

Of course not. These alliances are necessary and useful. But the point is, they haven't functioned as they should have. One of the most important lessons from the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions in the necessity of building a political front which is able to seize power, one in which the revolutionary forces are predominant.

**But don't you think the CND can be the starting point for such a front?**

One of its most important tasks was to mobilize the civil society. But they didn't mobilize anybody. It remained without results. In northern Mexico, there's no activity whatsoever. The largest mobilization outside of Chiapas was in Mexico City: 5,000 people on December 1, in a city of 25 million. And even at this level, nothing will last if a higher level of confrontation is not reached. The mobilizational capacities are limited, due to a variety of factors. The political consciousness of the goals is limited. But there are several day-to-day factors as well: People can't just take a day off work, etc. That's just the way things are at the moment, but such things are decisive factors in tasks such as this.

**But the situation in Chiapas is different. How do you view the future?**

Maybe they can prevent the inauguration of the PRI governor on December 8, and push through Avendano as governor and set up a parallel government. But then what?

**At the moment, a genuine process is underway to replace bourgeois state power in Chiapas, with the autonomy movement of the 'municipios', which is practically controlled by the radical indigenous organizations...**

But still, it's always the state, the central government, which has the ability to intervene, to buy 'fincas', to negotiate, then dam up problems and to isolate them. And if the movement doesn't spread to other states outside of Chiapas, then it won't have any future. They can't just keep demonstrating, marching, and taking over 'fincas' and town halls. That won't provide a radical solution to the problem, so long as things stay regionalized. This regionalization of the conflict is a government strategy, one which says: Chiapas is not Mexico. The forces in Chiapas will become exhausted if they aren't able to go over to a higher phase of struggle. A few days ago, three campesino leaders were murdered, something which has happened a lot. And what was the reaction? There was none. And the others, the death squads, the White Guards, are all armed. There's no doubt about that. They also haven't yet opted for a general military strike, because they too are waiting for the state to solve things in a "civil manner". That's the same reason why the federal army are just waiting. But just like everywhere in America, the certainly have a plan for the military option all worked out and ready to go. In other Latin American countries, this option of intervention doesn't exist, whereby the army can just pull back and allow the state to solve things politically. In the long run, the government's position will become more consolidated, whereas the EZLN's position will continue to erode.

**How do things look for the EZLN with Ernesto Zedillo as president?**

Things are going to get worse. Zedillo will carry out reformist politics, which he has already shown in his dealings with the opposition parties PAN and PRD. The moderate wing of the PRD and part of the PRI, the 'Democracia 2000' group around Camacho Solis, will form a new reformist party in a few years, and this will bury the Cardenistas, the PRD leftists. Things are going to be difficult for the EZLN, to keep themselves going and to launch a new offensive.



Kurdistan

Arm The Spirit

# "Our Struggle Now Incorporates The Aspirations Of The Whole Kurdish Nation"

*Interview by Matthew Brady with PKK European representative Kani Yilmaz a few hours before his arrest in London on October 26, 1994.*

**What stage have the endeavours to establish a national assembly reached and how will it respond to the needs of the present time?**

We had an earlier experience which we felt needed deepening. Therefore contact groups have been set up by intellectuals and DEP members which have met with various sectors. The idea is to set up a National Congress of 1,000 to 1,500 members representing north Kurdistan, and for this Congress to establish an assembly. The make up and framework of the assembly will be determined by the results attained by the contact groups. I believe some Kurdish groups have also been consulted but they said they were not in favour of such an initiative. In fact these groups would not be able to make a constructive contribution had they wished to. They simply don't have the resources. Therefore the projected assembly may not be a perfect, classical one as it will not be all-inclusive. For this reason the assembly is being projected as one that is oriented to external relations, to the outside world, an assembly capable of including all sections of society and with national symbols putting the emphasis on legal activities internationally. These are continuing. I believe that the founding of the assembly may be announced around Newroz (March 21).

**Ocalan made an important statement recently calling on Kurdish people to feel themselves to be Kurdish citizens and to live their Kurdish identity?**

There is no nation that is in need of the concept of citizenship than the Kurds. Thus the General Secretary's call is of the utmost significance. The Kurds have been dispersed to the four corners of the world. Even Kurds living in their own homeland have been unable to call it home. They are deprived of seeing their homeland as theirs and of seeing themselves as citizens for many years. This call is in essence an appeal to the people to involve themselves in the national liberation struggle and to realise a transformation in their minds, to realise a return to the motherland and to develop a national consciousness that enables them to make the link with the homeland. This is a call that incorporates broad layers of society: it means those who can do so should join the struggle en masse, it means the nation completing its self-mobilisation and the realisation of the training of tens and hundreds of thousands.

We evaluate this call as one for national consciousness and a great sensitivity to the developments in the motherland. We say that it is high time to establish a Kurdish national reality, a reality that feels responsible for the motherland and takes action on its behalf. This is how we evaluate this call.

**In the past, calls for national unity were made to other northern Kurdistan organisations. However, it would appear that the desired unity has not been achieved. If the vital importance of national unity is taken into considera-**

**tion, how then will the participation of different opinions in the assembly be ensured? What stage have such activities reached?**

I think it is necessary to clarify what is meant by this phrase "national unity", which has been used in a rhetorical way for years. Is national unity the unity of the nation or the unity of organisations? This is a crucial question. I believe the unity of the nation has been achieved in Kurdistan, that is, a great majority of the people support the national liberation struggle led by the PKK. What is the proof of this? The ten-year war. If a nation fights for 10 years and the struggle continues to develop, this can only occur if support is received from the nation. However, despite this, we felt it would be beneficial for those circles that claim to be organisations, that they be involved in a front of national unity. For about 18 months now, meetings have been held with various Kurdish groups. However we have now reached an impasse, a dead end.

There are various reasons for this: Firstly seven or eight of the 12 Kurdish organisations involved are almost nonexistent. They have no people to contribute to a front organisation. Some of them haven't even issued a leaflet for four or five years, or organised a demonstration.

Then there are organisations like Hevgirtin, that have contacts with village guards, that want any front that is set up to have the authority to impose a ceasefire decision on the ARGK (People's Liberation Army of Kurdistan). "If the war is not ended we will not participate in the front" they declare. They have a liquidationist approach.

So there are problems, but talks are continuing. Even if we are unable to establish a front we at least believe we will be able to have an understanding for cooperation and be able to act together in some practical ways. We will take this proposal for an agreement on cooperation to the next meeting planned for the first week of November.

Of course it would be ideal if a front of national unity could be set up but the groups working towards the national assembly have contacted broad circles to ensure a variety of views are represented. Also the national liberation struggle is continuing amidst blood and fire. Kurdistan is being burnt as the Turkish state tries to create a Kurdistan without forests or villages. Therefore, those people who feel they have an obligation will not wait for a front to be formed. It could take another five years. There are some people who, if you even kill them, they would still not go to Kurdistan. They have no sense of their responsibilities. But Kurdistan is not the country it was ten years ago. The struggle has grown massively. Soon in 1995, the PKK will have 50,000 guerrillas. A decision has been taken in this regard. So whether we have a front or not, at this time when Turkish colonialism is carrying out ferocious attacks, we will give the necessary response on the basis of the national unity that we have created.

**There is a campaign in Europe for the recognition of the Kurdish identity. It would seem to be an effective demand at this time. If this is recognised by the Western states how would you evaluate the consequences?**

KON-KURD is the largest confederation work-

ing for the rights of Kurds in Europe. On November 4, 1994, it is organising a conference in Brussels, in a hall at the European Parliament. This is a conference to force the acceptance of Kurdish identity in Europe. In my opinion it is a very important step. Of course the Kurdish identity is already recognised in various ways in some places in Europe but this must be made official in the whole of Europe. For instance, if 20 Kurdish students warrant the opening of a Kurdish school then they should also recognize the Kurdish identity. I believe this would also make a contribution to the political process in that it would serve to assist those circles in the west that want the West to play a role in the Kurdish question. It would change, the opinions of various circles. It would also deepen the expression of Kurdishness, the concept of citizenship amongst the Kurds in Europe. This would also put Turkey on the spot because if the Kurdish identity is recognised in Europe it would make it somewhat difficult for Turkey to explain the lack of such recognition in Turkey.

**In March the North-West Kurdistan Conference was held in Brussels. Following this conference has there been an intensification in diplomatic activities?**

The most important aspect of the Brussels conference was the package of proposals presented by our General Secretary Abdullah Ocalan. Did this have the effect it merited? I don't think it did. There should have been more interest. But some opinions were changed or, at least, some circles which had a superficial "anti-terrorist" approach, have become more circumspect and cautious. There were also a considerable number of messages of support from international and human rights organisations. Some countries also began to take this issue seriously and realised that steps should be taken. On November 18-19 the Olaf Palme Trust is organising an International Kurdish Conference in Barcelona. This is something that has come about partly as a result of the Brussels Conference. Of course the reason the conference did not find the necessary response is political. Although Turkey is losing its strategic importance, it is becoming an attractive market and countries like France and Germany have interests at stake.

However it is still possible to state that the Brussels Conference did offer a perspective on the Kurdish question and gave Western countries and organisations the chance to learn what the PKK is, and this was particularly the case with Abdullah Ocalan's package of proposals.

**You say that France and Germany have adopted a negative attitude to the PKK on account of their economic interests. Europe's negative, even hostile, view of the national liberation struggle in Kurdistan is well known. Could you comment on Western support or at least silent approval for Turkey's genocidal policies?**

To remain silent, or approve, or support what Turkey is doing in Kurdistan implies support for a Kurdish genocide. But I can say that those who follow this policy in Germany, have begun to debate the PKK ban which will be one year old in November. They



banned the PKK and what happened? I will tell you. The PKK increased its strength threefold in Germany. Now Germany wishes to play a role in the Middle East, a sensitive region from which it has been excluded since it was defeated in the 2nd World War. However it is now, particularly after its unification with the East, a world economic power. It desires political power to match. Thus, it is now targeting the parts of the Middle East which used to be under U.S. domination, such as Iran and Iraq. Iran now does more trade with Germany than it does with all the rest of the world put together. And since autumn 1993 there has been a stream of delegations from Germany visiting Saddam Hussein. Germany also uses Turkey as a bridgehead to reach Iraq. Therefore the reason for Germany's hostility towards us is its interests in the Middle East. An intriguing situation has emerged. We have relations with many countries. The world has not labelled us as terrorists but Germany has. However, Germany is developing friendship with Saddam, who the whole world regards as a terrorist. This illustrates the hypocrisy of Germany's approach to us.

**Let's get on to the war. From the world's press, or at least the British press, one gets the impression that the guerrilla movement has suffered serious setbacks as a result of the huge military operations of the Turkish state. Can you comment on this please?**

The war news emanating from Turkey and finding its way into the world press is one-sided and has been taken under the control of those directing the dirty war. However, in the last 2 or 3 months the Turkish state has not mentioned "finishing us off" or "breaking our backs". They are silent. In Kurdistan we are now establishing a regional military command structure and we are preparing in 1995 to take complete control of areas which are already to a great extent under our control. Ciller claimed in Autumn 1993 that she was going to finish us off by Spring 1994. But we said then, that we would have 30,000 guerrillas by that time.

Now we aim to field 50,000 guerrillas by the Spring of 1995. It is the Turkish army, which lost thousands of men in its last operation around Herkol mountain and in South Kurdistan, that has suffered severe blows. If the Turkish army has really broken our backs then why are they talking about extending military service and why are they sending marines to Kurdistan? It is Turkey that has its back to the wall, both militarily and economically.

The guerrillas are in every part of Kurdistan. If the Turkish army had achieved success with its military operations it would not have to burn down so many villages or murder so many civilians. These are the methods to which a defeated army resorts.

**I would like to ask you about the situation in South Kurdistan. The clashes between the KDP and PUK seem to have ended. There are also reports of a KDP buildup in Behdinan, which has led to fears of a repeat of the southern war of 1992. Could you comment?**

South Kurdistan is a region where many circles are active and various forces are pursuing their interests. Turkey and Germany are striving to reconcile Massoud Barzani with Saddam and South Kurdistan with Iraq, and also to get Saddam a reprieve so that

he can return to the international community. Recent Turkish operations into South Kurdistan have all ended in fiasco. At the beginning of October 30,000 troops crossed into the South with a fanfare from the Turkish press, but they suffered heavy blows and withdrew in great silence. The sole reason for the instability in South Kurdistan is the absolute domination the Turkish state exerts over the KDP, and Massoud Barzani's collaboration with Turkey. If only the KDP were able to act according to its own will, the situation in the South would have been well on the way to freedom, but the leadership of the KDP does not permit this. The reason for the KDP's attacks on the PUK and other forces, is Turkey's policy. Turkey wants to remove all forces except the KDP. Otherwise there is no ideological conflict between the parties there. The only possible clash would be of interests. All this stems from the fact that Massoud Barzani formulates all his policies at the Turkish brigade headquarters in Silopi.

The situation at the moment may seem calm but this does not mean that the situation is stable. Massoud Barzani has sold himself to the Turkish state. Therefore there will always be the potential for provocations and attacks on opposition groups. Turkish intelligence operatives are in control of things there and move more freely than the Kurds. The KDP has taken part in all the recent military operations against the PKK and we think they will continue to do so.

Turkey and Germany's policy in South Kurdistan and their plan to rehabilitate Saddam is seriously disturbing the USA. To keep the equilibrium intact the U.S. is supporting Talabani, but not actively. Now things seem to have subsided following Mitterand's intervention but this is misleading because nothing has been resolved there. Britain's policy is similar to that of the U.S.

**November 27, 1994 will be the 16th anniversary of the seizure of Kani Yilmaz.**

**End The Criminalization Of The PKK And The Kurdish People In Europe!**

## Free Kani Yilmaz!

The police seizure of Kani Yilmaz, the European Representative of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) and his subsequent imprisonment by the Home Office is a serious blow to the democratic rights of all people in Britain. It also reveals the sinister workings of a new and unaccountable European police force which is coordinating its actions across Europe in support of the Turkish state's war against the Kurdish people.

Kani Yilmaz was invited to address a meeting at the House of Parliament on October 26 by British MPs and Lords. As he left Westminster tube station a carefully laid police trap seized him. He was detained under the National Security provision of the 1971 Immigration Act. What threat Kani Yilmaz posed to Britain's security was never stated. On November 11 his status was reclassified and under the European Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism Act of 1978 he now faces extradition to Germany where he has refugee asylum status. The German state has invented general, non-specific reasons for issuing an extradition order - a procedure which effectively overrides, ignores and prevents the exercise of the right to appeal.

In her June 1994 maiden public speech Stella Rimington, head of MI5, identified the Kurds as a potential source of "terrorism" in Britain. A programme to criminalise Kurdish and Turkish opposition in Europe to the Turkish state is being coordinated by British and German police and military intelligence, together with their Turkish counterparts. The programme includes mobilisation of sections of the media and establishment of special police units to survey and attack the Kurdish communities. The PKK has been outlawed in Germany and France. Alerted, if not encouraged, by the undemocratic actions of the British and German governments, the Turkish state now demands the extradition of Kani Yilmaz to Turkey where he would face certain torture and death.

The Kurdish struggle for national rights is seen by the British government as a threat to the Middle Eastern status quo. For the British government ever since it devised the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 which divided the Kurdish people up

between Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey, that status quo has meant oil and profits.

Over 1,500 Kurdish villages have been destroyed by the Turkish army, Kurdish refugees from those burned out villages sheltering in the mountains of south Kurdistan are regularly bombed by Turkish aircraft, concentration camps have been set up in southeast Turkey by Kurdish state forces, torture is rife, death squads murder open and legal Kurdish politicians, dozens of journalists and academics who try to tell the truth about Kurdistan are imprisoned and murdered. Eight Kurdish Democracy Party MPs are stripped of their constituencies and now face the death penalty at the hands of the Turkish state. This is what the British government condones by its seizure and criminalisation of Kani Yilmaz.

All democrats in Britain must support the Kurdish people who have mounted a three week protest and hunger strike outside the Home Office for Kani Yilmaz's release. We must demand to know what is the relationship between Scotland Yard, MI5 and the Turkish police and military intelligence. What policy decisions have been taken by the Home Office towards the Kurdish community in Britain, for what reasons, in conjunction with what European powers and under whose authority?

British companies are queuing up to sell arms to Turkey to carry on the slaughter of Kurds. They are queuing up to organise and benefit from the forthcoming privatisation of Turkish industry.

Democrats in Britain must brand Turkey as an international pariah (as with apartheid in South Africa) until it recognises Kurdish people's basic human rights.

We must end British and German governmental collaboration with the Turkish state's war effort.

End arms sales to Turkey.

The rights of Kani Yilmaz to address people in Britain is a democratic right of all the British people. It must not be taken away.

**Kurdistan Solidarity Committee Statement**  
London - November 16, 1994



# Boycott Turkish Tourism!

## Do Not Give Financial Support To The Dirty War!

*The press office of the ARGK (People's Liberation Army of Kurdistan) issued a statement on January 17, 1995 relating to a boycott of Turkish tourism, which finances the special war in Kurdistan. A special war is taking place in Turkey and Kurdistan. In this situation of war, the ARGK press office said, there can be no vacation trips. "Every holiday in Turkey makes profit for the dirty war." The following is the communique which was sent to the KURD-A news agency:*

There is a battlefield in Kurdistan. The Turkish Republic is waging a horribly dirty war. They do not seek to reach a peaceful, political, and democratic solution. The Turkish Republic has forced the people of Kurdistan into a one-sided war. In the cities and the countryside, countless people are driven from their homes, more than 2,000 villages have been destroyed or depopulated through the violence of the military. Millions of Kurds are being tortured. 15,000 Kurdish patriots, our people, have been imprisoned. All living spaces in Kurdistan are being destroyed, the forests are being burned, and there is not a single mountain region which is not being bombed. The Kurdish people have every right to resist and to struggle. Every region in Kurdistan is a battlefield in this war. A horrible war is waging between the ARGK and the Turkish Republic.

The special war is also being carried out in Turkey. Every vacation in Turkey brings in profits for the dirty war. These profits are transformed into bullets which are used against the Kurdish people. We are warning the European public, those people who would like to spend their holidays in Turkey: You cannot take a vacation on a battlefield. No one should make reservations nor book any tickets, no one should travel into Turkey or Kurdistan. There is no guarantee that you can survive in a region where a war is taking place. Anyone who does not pay attention to this and who ignores the human conditions is risking their life by travelling into Turkey and Kurdistan - we are not responsible for this. To prevent unwanted consequences, do not travel to Turkey or Kurdistan. We are warning people ahead of time and making them aware of the reality.

Turkey is not a safe country: The lies and destructive policies of the government are responsible

**sary of the founding of the PKK. Could you comment on this please?**

The national liberation struggle led by the PKK has now reached the stage where it can not be defeated. The struggle now incorporates the aspirations of the whole Kurdish nation. The 16th anniversary of the founding of the PKK will be followed by the Party's 5th Congress which will be held in Kurdistan. Chairman APO has named this congress the Freedom and Liberation Congress, and as preparations for the anniversary and party congress continue, the PKK is evaluating the next period as one of liberation and freedom. Our people began to live again with the emergence of the PKK. As Chairman Apo has said, a revival was set in motion. Our 16-year-long struggle has brought about a revival and from now on we are heading for liberation.

(Source: Kurdistan Report #20 - Jan./Feb. 1995)

for this. We don't want Europeans to be fooled by the tourism propaganda of a regime which is dictatorial, not democratic, and whose military is waging a special dirty war. Just like last year, we hope that people will respect our call.

We call on the German state to remove its support for the Turkish government and to free itself from its complicity in the dirty war. In the long-term, this complicity will only harm Germany's own interests. If Germany continues to support destructive policies in Kurdistan, then political and economic targets will be attacked by ARGK units. We will carry

out suicide attacks against German targets in Turkey and Kurdistan.

The Turkish government denies the existence of the Kurdish people, it practices violence and despotism. This regime cannot be accepted. You cannot take a vacation in a region where such a regime is accepted.

We are warning people ahead of time that we are not responsible for the consequences or any undesirable developments.

**ARGK (People's Liberation Army of Kurdistan)**

*Continued from page 14*  
Ozkarat, blamed the Turkish justice ministry and prison officials for Suleyman Ongun's death. On January 21, political prisoners in Antep launched an indefinite hungerstrike to protest the prison's calculated murder by means of denying medical treatment.

Sadrettin Aydinlik, a PKK-prisoner who has been detained in Bayrampasa prison in Istanbul for 11 years, has issued a complaint to the medical chamber in Istanbul because he has been denied cardiology treatment while in prison. Aydinlik has been in prison for 11 years and has serious heart trouble. So far, prison officials and the justice ministry have ignored his requests for medical treatment.

Political prisoners in Buca and Aydin launched a hungerstrike on December 21, 1994. 10 of them are now in bad health.

Since January 12, 1995, 20 families of political prisoners in Buca and Aydin have been on a solidarity hungerstrike. Members of the SKK (Izmir Anti-War

Association) joined the hungerstrike for one day as well. Political prisoners in Ceyhan, Canakkale, Cankiri, Nevsehir, Amasya, Iskenderun, and Ankara have also started a solidarity hungerstrike.

A rally in support of the hungerstrikers outside of Buca prison on January 23 was attacked by police. A 60-year-old woman and her 32-year-old daughter were injured.

On day 43 of the hungerstrike, relatives of the prisoners blockaded the road to Buca prison. Security forces attacked the demonstration and wounded several people.

The HADEP chairperson in Izmir, RA Kenan Bilgic, has since stated that there have been "positive developments" for negotiations between prison officials and the prisoners.

(Source: various issues of Angehoerigen Info and Kurdistan Rundbrief)



# Women's Army In Kurdistan

Interview With Free Women's Movement Of Kurdistan Representative

By Deryagul Beran

We have received word from Kurdistan that for some time a women's army has been in existence among the guerrillas there. We spoke to a representative of the Free Women's Movement of Kurdistan (TAJK), who has herself taken part in the guerrilla struggle, about this development.

**Why was it necessary to set up this army? What was the position of women among the guerrillas up to now?**

The structure of Kurdish society is in part also reflected in the life of the guerrillas. So relations between men and women and the roles played by the sexes were determined along traditional lines. Men and women were kept strictly segregated, as if by a wall. They were brought up so that the women always had to obey the man while the man dominated the women in his capacity as the one who gave the orders. The strong patriarchal oppression of Kurdish women in Kurdistan is also a consequence of the despotism perpetrated by the colonialists.

Kurdish women see their fight for freedom reinforced by Kurdistan's liberation movement. As the struggle has developed the number of women involved has grown continually. Of course, here too they were confronted with classical social problems. Many of them were still in the grip of tradition and patriarchy.

The encounter of these two different worlds influences life among the guerrillas. Our party, and especially our General Secretary, Abdullah Ocalan, analysed this problem at the very beginning of the liberation struggle and has taken important steps towards resolving it.

Resolving the question of women, of women's rights, can only take place if it is viewed as a "revolution inside the revolution". Accordingly, in the guerrilla army, women are learning about their own significance for Kurdistan's liberation. They live with the knowledge that without their revolutionary struggle for freedom there can be no revolution in Kurdistan. The women have been politicised as a result of this awareness. Of course this process also develops among the male guerrillas, for the liberation movement of Kurdistan does not see the question of women's rights as a matter merely for women. It is a social problem historically connected with the occupation of Kurdistan in a way that is scientifically verifiable. I should like to try and explain the collision between the two worlds of guerrillas by using some examples.

Female commanders rarely found that the role they played was an acceptable one in the eyes of either men or women. Some men still found it difficult to take orders from women commanders. Equally, at first they did not receive respect from women either. The inferiority complex of women resulting from social conditioning was the decisive reason for this failure to accept women commanders. At the same time the fact that a woman could become a commander could be a source of self-confidence for women.

The growing number of women in the guerrilla struggle made a special organisation necessary, because the men inhibit the independent development of the women's abilities. His presence is embarrassing.

In order to gain full recognition in Kurdish society and among the guerrillas, a military mode of organisation has to be introduced alongside the political one. In this way women have the possibility of developing independently, freely, and to stand on their own feet, without feeling themselves to be mere shadows of the men. Each free practical step taken on her own accustoms the woman to build confidence in herself. The achievement of the "revolution" can only come to fruition via a women's army.

For a radical social revolution in this area of culture, the founding of the women's army is the beginning of such a new epoch for our society just as was August 15, 1984 (the beginning of the armed struggle).

**Is it in any way different from the men's army?**

It is not correct to think in terms only of men's and women's armies. Alongside the women's army, which consists of about 2,000 women, many fight in mixed units. Both the women's army and the regular army are subordinate to the same command structure. Both fight according to the same plans and objectives. The only difference is that the women's army concentrates on the development of the personality of the individual woman.

In addition, it has been found that strength at all levels of struggle is not a monopoly of any particular sex. One can say, however, that women in struggle adapt more quickly because they are constantly aware of their thousands of years of slavery. So the intention of winning freedom is much stronger among them than among men. Most of the women understand that freedom is possible, now or never.

A sharp separation between men and women is not intended, simply because male guerrillas are more experienced than we are. And so it is necessary to work together.

**Could you give us some example of women who have developed particularly far as a result of the struggle?**

There are countless examples of this kind. I will talk about some women of whom I have personal knowledge. Sozdar came from the countryside, where she received the traditional and backward upbringing of peasants. So she had not had the chance to go to school. After she got to know the guerrillas, she joined them. There she has rediscovered everything that she, like millions of male and female Kurds, had lost because of colonisation. Sozdar is learning to come to grips with her national and sexual identity and she is overcoming all the old structures step by step. From a women guerrilla she is turning into a commander. Another example, Zelal became engaged in Dersim and was supposed to get married in the Federal Republic of Germany later on. Previously in Dersim she had become acquainted with the guerrillas a short time before her trip to Germany. As she put it herself, Zelal wanted freedom, but she lacked any conception of how to achieve it. In Germany, she came into

contact again with the liberation movement and joined it there some time later. In order to break the traditional fetters, she had her fiancée come to Germany so she could tell him she wanted to become a part of the movement completely. She did not want an engagement in the classical sense and she made him an offer: they could both wage the struggle, or else break the engagement. After he rejected her offer, she separated from him and, after a lengthy period of political activity in Germany, went to Kurdistan. Today she is a commander there.

**You are a representative of the Free Women's Movement (TAJK) of Kurdistan. What connection does the TAJK have to the women's army?**

We women of the TAJK consider ourselves generally as part of the liberation movement of Kurdistan. Without it we would not exist. Both politically and materially we support the women's movement in Kurdistan. According to the aims we envisage, political support is not simply the task of Kurdish women like ourselves, but rather non-Kurdish women should also engage in this task. For example, the experiences we have had with the women's army and through our practical politics can serve as a new perspective on the road to liberation from patriarchy. This is our common desire. Therefore, powerful solidarity should be developed. Through our work in Europe, through publications, discussions, and demonstrations, we are trying to make our presence felt. So our work has the aim of bringing attention to the future. We are optimistic about every aspect of our work in Europe. For example, our international women's conference in Cologne was a great success for us, achieved by the efforts of a great many friends from many lands.

*(Translated by Steve Kaczynski. Reprinted from Kurdistan Report #20 - January/February 1995)*



# Prison Massacre In Diyarbakir

Sub-Title?

For a long time now, before the eyes of the world, those of us in prison have been openly oppressed, tortured, and attacked in a manner which can only be described as a massacre. Our comrades were tortured almost every day on their way to court, beaten with clubs, boards, belts, shovels and other tools. Some were beaten so badly that they went into comas. As these injuries which our comrades suffered show, the aim of this torture was death. Dozens suffered cracked heads and broken arms, they had wounds all over their bodies, and some of our comrades will now be crippled for their entire lives. The continuity of such attacks reached the point where the prison officials even began denying us such basic things as food and water and other necessities of life.

On October 4, 1994, on the pretext of acting on a confession by our comrade Erdogan Dincer, the prison was surrounded in the early morning by thousands of soldiers, police, plainclothes officers, special units, guards, "defectors" who had gone over to the contra-guerrilla, and special army forces. All visitors were turned away and the assembled forces carried

out a major attack on the prison.

The attack was directly coordinated and led by state officials, including the army commander in Diyarbakir, the governor, the security agency (political police), the state prosecutor's office, and prison officials.

From 8:00 a.m. that day until the next day, October 5, prison blocks 27, 25, 31, and 18 were attacked. Hundreds of smokebombs and tear gas grenades were fired against our comrades and high-pressure water was blasted inside prison cells. Many of our comrades suffered from smoke inhalation and many were injured by the water blasts. Some were so badly injured that they fell into comas.

But that wasn't all. The security forces of the fascist Turkish state tossed a firebomb into block 27 in the afternoon. The block was completely destroyed by fire. Then they detonated sticks of dynamite alongside the walls of blocks 27, 25, and 18 and blew up the burning buildings. Then the state forces entered the prison and opened fire on our comrades, some of whom were already dead or in comas, with G3,

Kalashnikov, and Akrep weapons. Meanwhile the security forces on the outside were also firing at the prison walls.

Many of our comrades were also injured when plainclothes police climbed up onto the roofs and entered into the other prison blocks and began beating people.

After this, the soldiers removed 309 prisoners, who were either overpowered or already dead, from blocks 27, 25, 18, and 31. They were thrown face-down on the floor of a long corridor. Countless soldiers, plainclothes police, special team forces, and contra-guerrillas, all of whom were waiting, rushed in and immediately began beating people mercilessly, regardless of whether they were dead or alive, using clubs, iron bars, boards, and other items. The prisoners were then dragged down the stairs. Dozens has broken arms, legs, ribs, or cracked skulls. The halls were covered with blood.

We do not know how many of the 309 comrades, who were taken ~~to an~~ undisclosed location, were killed or how many are still alive. All of us were witnesses to how our comrades, who were already in a lifeless situation, a situation totally out of their control, could be tortured in such a brutal fashion. These 309 comrades were taken away at 4:00 a.m., which seems to imply that several people had been killed.

This attack is a massacre and a provocation which has been building up for some time now. It is becoming clear that the fascist Turkish Republic is seeking to surpass the cruelty in Diyarbakir prison of 1980.

These attacks, which exceed those carried out under the fascist junta of September 12, 1980 in Diyarbakir prison at the beginning of the 80s, are designed to destroy the prisoners and destroy our national identity, our convictions, and our worth. We, PKK prisoners of war imprisoned in Amed [the Kurdish name for Diyarbakir - trans.], are the ones who are seeking to transform this prison into a Saigon jail, a place where we can defend our worth and our political identity, and we will resist this cruelty with all means available, including death-fasts and self-immolation.

The attackers must be made to pay for their crimes. This attack will remain a thorn in their side. At least one of our comrades burned himself to death during this attack.

We expect from everyone that calls itself a person, from the democratic Turkish public and all of progressive humanity, to not ignore this attempted massacre in Amed prison and to try and find out what happened to our comrade Erdogan Dincer and the 309 of our comrades who were taken away following this attack.

We will continue to resist this cruelty by means of our continuing 5-day rotating hungerstrike.

We seek to inform the world about the cruelty in Amed prison and we expect everyone to take note.

In the name of the PKK political prisoners in Diyarbakir prison,

**BOLD**  
(Yilmaz Yurek and Latif Cetin - October 5, 1994)

(Translated from Angel Cigen Info #156)

## Prison Resistance In Kurdistan And Turkey

*The following is a compilation of information regarding the resistance of political prisoners from the PKK as well as members of Turkish revolutionary organizations such as Devrimci Sol. Due to the difficulties of receiving information about the struggles of political prisoners in Turkish prisons we have not been able to follow up on the situation of the various hungerstrikes and the current conditions in the Turkish prisons. We hope to have more information in our next magazine.*

In April 1994, a trial-boycott was launched by PKK-prisoners in Diyarbakir prison. The action spread and was supported by many attorneys, as well as prisoners from the following organizations: TIKB, TDKP, TKP/ML, THKP/C, HDO, Direnis Hareketi, Devrimci Sol, TDP, DY, TKEP/L, TKP/ML-Hareketi, TKIH, HKG, Ekim, and Kawa. More and more organizations began to support the action, which was designed to build solidarity and to deny legitimacy to the Turkish judicial system.

Throughout all of Kurdistan and Turkey, political prisoners launched a massive campaign of resistance. In response to political disturbances primarily organized by PKK-prisoners, the special prison in Antep was completely cleared out and all 200 political prisoners were split up and redistributed to more than a dozen different prisons.

In Nazilli, 3 PKK-prisoners who were tortured in a prison in Buca and then transferred to Nazilli for refusing to renounce their membership in the PKK went on hungerstrike to demand a retransfer back to Buca.

By mid-June, prisoners from Devrimci Sol and the organization TIKKO had been on hungerstrike in Kayseri for over a month, and several supporters and family members had started a solidarity hungerstrike as well. Devrimci Sol prisoners in Canakkale had also started a solidarity hungerstrike on June 9.

In Urfa, several women PKK-prisoners had been continuing their hungerstrike, and prison officials

would not allow family members to visit the women. In Sakarya, 6 women protesting deplorable prison conditions, supported by women PKK-prisoners, had been on hungerstrike for more than 50 days. Their health was very fragile, and all the women were threatened with solitary confinement if they do not stop their action.

In Elbistan, approximately 200 PKK-prisoners had started death-fasts. Other hungerstrikes had been reported in Yozgat and Erzurum.

The hungerstrikes launched by imprisoned PKK and Devrimci Sol guerrillas continued to spread throughout prisons in Turkey and Kurdistan. At the beginning of August 1994, at least 178 PKK and Devrimci Sol prisoners were on hungerstrike to demand better prison conditions. If their demands were not met, the prisoners vowed to continue their action indefinitely. At that point 8 prisoners had been hospitalized due to effects of the hungerstrike.

On January 20, 1995, Suleyman Ongun from Cizre died from wounds he received when state security forces attacked 300 PKK-prisoners in Diyarbakir on April 10, 1994. Suleyman Ongun was one of 80 wounded prisoners who were forcibly transferred to Antep following the assault on the prison. There, he was denied medical treatment. The spokespersons for the PKK-prisoners in Antep, Mahmut Inal and Galip Tas, and the chairperson of the Antep branch of the human rights association IHD, Iman

*Continued on page 12*

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# A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY...

By Sundiata Acoli

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was founded in October, 1966, in Oakland, California by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. The name was shortened to the Black Panther Party (BPP) and it began spreading eastward through the Black urban ghetto-colonies across the country.

In the summer of '68, David Brothers established a BPP branch in Brooklyn, New York, and a few months later Lumumba Shakur set up a branch in Harlem, New York. I joined the Harlem BPP in the fall of '68 and served as its Finance Officer until arrested on April 2, 1969 in the Panther 21 Conspiracy case which was the opening shot in the government's nationwide attack on the BPP. Moving westward, Police Departments in each city made military raids on BPP offices or homes in Philadelphia, Chicago, Newark, Omaha, Denver, New Haven, San Diego, Los Angeles, and other cities, murdering some Panthers and arresting others.

After I and most other Panther 21 members were held in jail and on trial for two years, We were all acquitted of all charges and released. Most of us returned to the community and to the BPP but by then COINTELPRO had taken its toll. The BPP was rife with dissension, both internal and external. The internal strife, division, intrigue, and paranoia had become so ingrained that eventually most members drifted, or were driven, away. Some continued the struggle on other fronts and some basically cooled out altogether. The BPP limped on for several more years, then died what seemed a natural death. History will be the ultimate judge of the BPP's place in the Black Liberation Movement (BLM). But in these troubled times Afrikan people in the U.S. need to investigate both the positive and negative aspects of the BPP's history in order to learn from those hard lessons already paid for in blood. In particular, We need to learn the reasons for the BPP's rapid rise to prominence, the reason for its ability to move so many Afrikans and other nationalities, and the reason for its demise during its brief sojourn across the American scene.

It's not possible in this short paper, on short notice, to provide much of what is necessary, so this paper will confine itself to pointing out some of the broader aspects of the BPP's positive and negative contributions to the BLM.

## The Positive Aspects Of The BPP's Contributions

**1) Self-Defense:** This is one of the fundamental areas in which the BPP contributed to the BLM. It's also one of the fundamental things that set the BPP apart from most previous Black organizations and which attracted members (particularly the youth), mass support, and a mass following. The concept is not only sound, it's also common sense. But it must be

implemented correctly, otherwise it can prove more detrimental than beneficial. The self-defense policies of the BPP need to be analyzed in this light by present-day Afrikan organizations. All history has shown that this government will bring its police and military powers to bear on any group which truly seeks to free Afrikan people. Any Black "freedom" organization which ignores self-defense does so at its own peril.

**2) Revolutionary Nationalist Ideology:** The BPP was a nationalist organization. Its main goal was the national liberation of Afrikan people in the U.S., and it restricted its membership to Blacks only. It was also revolutionary. The BPP theories and practices were based on socialist principles. It was anti-capitalist and struggled for a socialist revolution of U.S. society.

On the national level, the BPP widely disseminated socialist base programs to the Afrikan masses. Internationally, it provided Afrikans in the U.S. with a broader understanding of our relationship to the Afrikan continent, the emerging independent Afrikan nations, Third World nations, Socialist nations, and all the Libera-

tion Movements associated with these nations. Overall, the ideology provided Afrikans here with a more concrete way of looking at and analyzing the world. Heretofore much of Black analysis of the world, and the society in which We live, was based on making ourselves acceptable to White society, proving to Whites that We were human, proving to Whites that We were ready for equality, proving We were equal to Whites, disproving racist ideas held by Whites, struggling for integration or equal status with Whites, theories of "loving the enemy", "hating the enemy", "they're all devils", spookism, and other fuzzy images of how the real world worked.

**3) Mass Organizing Techniques:** Another fundamental thing that attracted members and mass support to the BPP was its policy of "serving the people". This was a policy of going to the masses, living among them, sharing their burdens, and organizing the masses to implement their own solutions to the day to day problems that were of great concern to them.

By organizing and implementing the desires of the masses, the BPP organized community programs ranging from free breakfast for children, to free health clinics, to rent strikes resulting in tenant ownership of their buildings, to Liberation School for grade-schoolers, to free clothing drives, to campaigns for community control of schools, community control of

police, and campaigns to stop drugs, crime, and police murder and brutality in the various Black colonies across America. For these reasons, and others, the influence of the BPP spread far beyond its actual membership. Not only did the BPP programs teach self-reliance, but years later the government established similar programs such as free school lunch, expanded medicare and day care facilities, and liberalized court procedures for tenant takeovers of poorly maintained housing, partly if not primarily in order to snuff out the memory of previous similar BPP programs and the principle of self-reliance.

**4) Practice of Women's Equality:** Another positive contribution of the BPP was its advocacy and practice of equality for women throughout all levels of the organization and in society itself. This occurred at a time when most Black Nationalist organizations were demanding that the woman's role be in the home and/or one step behind the Black man, and at a time when the whole country was going through a great debate on the woman's liberation issue.

**5) Propaganda Techniques:** The BPP made significant contributions to the art of propaganda. It was very adept at spreading its message and ideas through its newspaper The Black Panther, mass rallies, speaking tours, slogans, posters, leaflets, cartoons, buttons, symbols (i.e., the clenched fist), graffiti, political trials, and even funerals. The BPP also spread its ideas through very skillful use of the establishment's

TV, radio, and print media.

One singular indication, although there are others, of the effectiveness of BPP propaganda techniques is that even today, over a decade later, a large part of the programs shown on TV are still "police stories" and many of the roles available to Black actors are limited to police roles. A lot of this has to do with the overall process of still trying to rehabilitate the image of the police from its devastating exposure during the Panther era, and to prevent the true role of the police in this society from being exposed again.

## The Negative Aspects Of The BPP's Contributions

**1) Leadership Corrupted:** COINTELPRO eventually intimidated and corrupted all three of the BPP's top leaders: Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, and Eldridge Cleaver. Each, in their own way, caved in to the pressures and began acting in a manner that was deliberately designed to destroy the BPP, and to disillusion not only Party members but Afrikan people in America for years to come. COINTELPRO's hopes were that Afrikans in America would be so disillusioned that never again would they trust or follow any Afrikan leader or organization which advocated real solutions to Black oppression.

REVOLUTION HAS COME  
OFF THE PIGS  
TIME TO PICK UP THE GUNS  
OFF THE PIGS

## ...AND ITS PLACE IN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT





**2) Combined Above and Underground:** This was the most serious structural flaw in the BPP. Party members who functioned openly in the BPP

offices or organized openly in the community by day might very well have been the same people who carried out armed operations at night. This provided the police with a convenient excuse to make raids on any and all BPP offices, or members' homes, under the pretext that they were looking for suspects, fugitives, weapons, and/or explosives. It also sucked the BPP into taking the unwinnable position of making stationary defenses of BPP offices. There should have been a clear separation between the above ground Party and the underground armed apparatus. Also, small military forces should never adopt, as a general tactic, the position of making stationary defenses out of offices, homes, buildings, etc.

**3) Rhetoric Outstripped Capabilities:** Although the BPP was adept at the art of propaganda and made very good use of its own and the establishment's media, still too many Panthers fell into the habit of making boisterous claims in the public media, or selling "wolf tickets" that they couldn't back up. Eventually, they weren't taken seriously anymore. The press, some of whom were police agents, often had only to stick a microphone under a Panther's nose to make him or her begin spouting rhetoric. This often played into the hands of those who were simply looking for slanderous material to air or to provide possible intelligence information to the police.

**4) Lumpen Tendencies:** It can be safely said that the largest segment of the New York City BPP membership (and probably nationwide) were workers who held everyday jobs. Other segments of the membership were semi-proletariat, students, youths, and lumpen-proletariat. The lumpen tendencies within some members were what the establishment's media (and some party members) played-up the most. Lumpen tendencies are associated with a lack of discipline, a liberal use of alcohol, marijuana, and curse-words, loose sexual morals, a criminal mentality, and rash actions. These tendencies in some Party members provided the media with better opportunities than they would otherwise have had to play up this aspect, and to slander the Party, which diverted public attention from much of the positive work done by the BPP.

**5) Dogmatism:** Early successes made some Panthers feel that they were the only possessors of absolute truths. Some became arrogant and dogmatic in their dealings with Party members, other organizations, and even the community. This turned people off.

**6) Failure to Organize Economic Foundations in the Community:** The BPP preached socialist politics. They were anti-capitalist and this skewed their concept of building economic foundations in the community. They often gave the impression that to engage in any business enterprise was to engage in capitalism and they too frequently looked with disdain upon the small-business people in the community. As a result, the BPP built few businesses which generated income, other than the Black Panther newspaper, or which could provide self-employment to its membership and to people in the community. The BPP failed to encourage the Black community to set up its own

businesses as a means of building an independent economic foundation which could help break "outsiders'" control of the Black community's economics, and move it toward economic self-reliance.

**7) TV Mentality:** The 60's were times of great flux. A significant segment of the U.S. population engaged in mass struggle. The Black Liberation, Native American, Puerto Rican, Asian, Chicano, Anti-War, White Revolutionary, and Women's Liberation Movements were all occurring more or less simultaneously during this era. It appears that this sizable flux caused some Panthers to think that a seizure of state power was imminent or that a revolutionary struggle is like a quick-paced TV program. That is, it comes on at 9 p.m., builds to a crescendo by 9:45, and by 9:55 — Victory!; all in time to make the 10 O'Clock News. When it didn't happen after a few years, that is, Africans in the U.S. still were not free, no revolution occurred, and worse, the BPP was everywhere on the defensive, taking losses and riddled with dissension, many members became demoralized, disillusioned, and walked away or went back to old lifestyles. They were not psychologically prepared for a long struggle. In hindsight, it appears that the BPP didn't do enough to root out this TV mentality in some members, but it did in others, which is an aspect to ponder on.

Although the BPP made serious errors, it also gained a considerable measure of success and made several significant new contributions to the BLM. The final judgment of history may very well show that in its own way the BPP added the final ingredient to the Black Agenda necessary to attain real freedom: armed struggle; and that this was the great turning point which ultimately set the Black Liberation Movement on the final road to victory.

*Bold*  
(Marion Penitentiary - February 4, 1985)

Sundiata's current address:

Sundiata Acoli #39794-066  
USP Allenwood  
P.O. Box 3000 - Unit 3  
White Deer, PA 17887

Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign  
5122 South Ada  
Chicago, IL 60609

Phone/FAX: 312-737-8679  
E-mail: crsn@aol.com or safc@aol.com

*(Source: Crossroad Support Network)*

## Justice For Mark Cook - It's Way Past Time

The Vietnam war was fought not only on the soil of Southeast Asia, but in the streets of the U.S. as well. Anti-war activists struggled to end a conflict they knew to be unjust and extended their fight to include justice and equality for all human beings. Some felt compelled to take measures outside the law to stop a war between governments that killed thousands weekly in Vietnam, and to end the war of racism and poverty that claimed countless more lives in this country.

Mark Cook, a native of Seattle, was an officer of the Black Panther Party, which established community programs such as breakfast for children, free food giveaways, and medical clinics. With his founding of groups such as CONvention and the Bridge Project, Mark helped prisoners and ex-prisoners through established job training programs in prison, supporting prisoners' labor rights struggles, and creating job placement programs for those recently released. Throughout the late sixties and early seventies, Mark struggled to end not only the Vietnam War, but the systems of racism and imperialism that caused that war.

Across America activists challenged the war on a variety of fronts: electorally, non-violently, and militarily. In Seattle, the George Jackson Brigade (GJB) waged an armed struggle, targeting the property of those who perpetuated injustice. In January of 1976, three members of the GJB were arrested in a Brigade-sponsored bank robbery attempt, where one GJB member was fatally shot and another hospitalized. Two months later the hospitalized member was rescued from custody. In the process, a King county sheriff was shot and wounded. A few days later, Mark Cook was arrested as a suspect in the bank robbery. Months later he was also charged with aiding the escape and shooting the officer. He was convicted of all charges and sentenced to serve a thirty year federal term and two life sentences plus ten years by the state.

Mark has never admitted guilt in any of the charges against him.

Mark has served nearly twenty years for actions intended to stop an unjust war, far beyond the average served by persons convicted of similar crimes. Throughout the past two decades of incarceration, Mark has continued to strive for justice and equality for those behind bars and on the outside. He has never renounced his political beliefs. Mark has served the time for his crimes; he continues to be jailed only because of his politics.

Washington State has ignored a court order to have Mark's federal and state sentences run concurrently. As such, he is only on the first year of his state sentence(s) - even though a codefendant in the case (Ed Mead, co-founder of the PLN) served his state and federal terms concurrently and was released last year. The Washington parole board refuses to review his case.

Beginning with the pardoning of draft resisters in the late 1970's and ending with this year's lifting of the trade embargo with Vietnam, one of the most discordant periods in recent U.S. history has nearly been reconciled. If the time has come to heal the rift between two warring nations, isn't it time for a nation to reconcile its' differences with its own citizens who opposed that war?

The Mark Cook Freedom Committee (MCFC) plans future letter writing campaigns to the WA State parole board (and governor if necessary), and a fund raising drive to hire a lawyer to file Mark's appeal. If you would like to be placed on the MCFC mailing list to be notified of future events and kept up to date on Mark's case, write to: Mark Cook Freedom Committee, P.O. Box 85763, Seattle, WA, 98145-2763 USA

*(From: Prison Legal News - Vol. 5, No. 9, Sept. 94)*



★ Arm The Spirit

# Update On Mumia Abu-Jamal

Charge Headline

Sub Title

By Jamila Levi - January 19, 1995

I visited Mumia Abu-Jamal at Pennsylvania's new SCI-Greene Supermax yesterday, January 18, 1995. He was moved here from SCI-Huntingdon on January 13. About 70 of this state's 185 death row prisoners have been transferred to Greene as of this writing. Most were moved in groups of 14-20. Mumia was one of only two prisoners transferred from Huntingdon on Friday; special treatment for special people! Jailhouse lawyers are also among those being targeted for this supermax prison.

## Basic Features

One hour a day, 4-5 days a week, in an outdoor exercise cage. At Huntingdon he got two hours. Shower twice a week. Law library for two hours once or twice a week. (They have 2 typewriters in the law library.) The remaining time is silent in the cell.

Utter isolation, from other prisoners as well as from outside, is the goal. The cells are arranged in such a configuration that it is much more difficult to see across the block. It is possible to hear prisoners directly above or below (there are two tiers) or directly adjacent through the air vent. The food slot is unlocked 4-5 hours a day. The door is solid except for a thin window. Silence prevails, acutely aware that every sound is monitored.

All doors are electronically controlled, with guards at control monitoring stations. Not everything is painted white as in some sensory deprivation units, but the

overall atmosphere is one of complete sterility and lifelessness, clearly designed to break the spirit and destroy one's sense of identity.

SCI-Greene is located in Waynesburg, PA, an area well-known for its racism and heavy Klan infes-



tation. Although over 60% of the population on PA's death row are from Philadelphia and surrounding counties, this prison was deliberately located an 9-hour drive from the state's largest city. Prisoners on A.C. status (including death row) are allowed only a two hour visit once a week, although I was informed

that they may be able to successfully petition for a longer visit on occasion. Those in D.C. (Disciplinary Custody) get only one hour.

Visits are, of course, non-contact. They are conducted in an area rather deep within the bowels of this beast, closer to the cell block. His handcuffs are shackled to a belt around his waist. This contraption prevents him from scratching his nose, giving the power sign, talking with his hands, or pressing his hands up to the glass, which was the closest thing to physical contact he got with his visitors at Huntingdon. The stool provided for him during visits is bolted to the floor, with a ring on it apparently enabling the guards to shackle a prisoner to the stool.

TV is virtually non-existent because prisoners on Mumia's side of the cell block can get only one station, and the reception is poor. There is no cable. There is no VCR. Prisoners have TV and radio only if they can afford to buy one.

## Action Alert

This place is a real bad trip. Please help us expose it right up front for exactly what it is. Please feel free to write or call me with any questions or comments:

Western PA Committee To Free Mumia Abu-Jamal  
P.O. Box 10174  
Pittsburgh, PA  
15232-0174 U.S.A.

Phone/Fax: 412-361-2989

Please, write Mumia, and use some colored stationery, pictures or whatever to help brighten up that place (not that he's allowed to have anything on his wall).

Mumia's standing strong, like he always does. His new address is:

Mumia Abu-Jamal #AM-8335  
SCI-Greene  
1040 E. Roy Furman Highway  
Waynesburg, PA  
15370-8090 U.S.A.

## Prison Administration:

James Price  
SCI-Greene  
1030 E. Roy Furman Highway  
Waynesburg, PA  
15370-2902 U.S.A.

Phone: 412-852-2902  
Fax: 412-852-2909

We urge you to call or fax Governor Tom Ridge now to say free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty! His phone number is 717-787-2500. His fax is 717-772-3155.

For more information about Mumia's case call International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal at 215-476-8812.

(Source: Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign)

Dear comrades and friends,

Reading again the words of your solidarity call for Mumia is always the same feeling: it's like being there with you.

We understand that we all face the same situation which is marked by the deep effects of the world-wide changes we have seen over the past years. One of these effects is that the reactionary forces now are up to extinguish every example of struggle for a radically different life and revolutionary perspectives, they want to wipe out any hope for liberation, and to bury everything that has been reached by the people and for the people in this century.

Now they want Mumia's life. The U.S. government has put a revolutionary prisoner under the threat of legal execution because they think they could come through with it in times when resignation and retreat are visible in large parts on our side.

And they take Mumia because he is an example for this struggle, his life stands for our collective revolutionary history. And he stands for something else: for the truth that the spirit and the values of our struggle cannot be destroyed if we ourselves do not give up to make them real as long as we live.

We join your call and we hope that this common effort of prisoners will be a strong expression of life against death, an expression of our way and understanding of life against this system which can only produce death and destruction. We will be with you in every other effort necessary to prevent the U.S. government from killing a comrade.

Mumia's life is our life.

With much love,

Manuela Happe, Eva Haule, Rolf HeiBler, Sieglinde Hofmann, Christian Klar, Hanna Krabbe, Christine Kuby, Irmgard Möller, Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Helmut Pohl, Adelheid Schulz, Rolf-Clemens Wagner

November 1994

(Free Mumia!  
Free All Political And Revolutionary  
Prisoners In The World!)

Bold

Title (Intro about art show)



# Irmgard Möller Is Free!

*Photo*

On December 1, 1994, RAF-prisoner Irmgard Moeller, Germany's longest-held political prisoner, was released from prison after the rest of her life-sentence was changed to probation. Irmgard, one of the original founders of the Red Army Faction, had been in prison for over 22 years, much of that time kept in strict solitary confinement, after being arrested in 1972. Irmgard Moeller was also the only survivor of the so-called "Stammheim Night" in 1977 when RAF-founders Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Raspe were murdered in their prison cells; Irmgard herself was seriously wounded. Irmgard has stated that she plans to continue her struggle on the outside to win freedom for the other RAF-prisoners still in jail.

## ...But There Are Still 6 Other RAF Prisoners Who Have Been In Jail For More Than 15 Years

Christine Kuby, who has been imprisoned since January 10, 1978 and who was together with Irmgard Moeller in special detention in Lübeck prison for the past few years, is not in prison at the moment. She has not been let out on probation, but her conditions have been eased so that she can receive necessary rehabilitation treatment. Christine Kuby, who was arrested after a shoot-out which left her and a policeman wounded, was sentenced to two life-terms plus 10 years on two counts of murder. Her doctors have asked that the rest of her sentence be reduced to probation for medical reasons. The necessary court decision is still pending.

As for Lutz Taufer and Karl-Heinz Dellwo, who have been imprisoned in Celle for the past few years, a court hearing on their status is presently underway before the state supreme court in Dusseldorf, but no ruling has yet been handed down. An early hearing back in 1993 ended with the conclusion that their sentences should remain unchanged. Dellwo and Taufer, together with Hanna Krabbe, were part of the "Holger Meins Commando" which occupied the German embassy in Stockholm to demand freedom for 26 RAF prisoners.

Hanna Krabbe is presently in Lübeck prison. After Irmgard Moeller's release, she is now the only RAF prisoner in Luebeck. She was also denied an early release in 1993, along with Taufer and Dellwo, because she refused to submit to a forced psychiatric certification.

In addition to Dellwo and Taufer, Knut Folkerts is also imprisoned in Celle. Folkerts shot and killed a policeman as he was being arrested on September 22, 1977 in the Dutch city of Utrecht. In 1980, a court in Stammheim prison sentenced him to life in prison for participating in the RAF's assassination of federal

attorney general Buback. The state supreme court in Stuttgart ruled in 1993 that Folkerts must serve at least 17 years of his sentence on account of his "especially serious guilt", therefore he is not eligible for an early release until the fall of 1995. He also, however, must first submit himself to a forced psychiatric certification.

The situation of Stefan Wisniewski, who was arrested in Paris in 1978, is even worse. He was given several life-terms for participating in the Schleyer kidnapping. Shortly after being sent to prison, he distanced himself from the RAF, but he did not turn state's witness or reject left-radical politics. The state supreme court in Dusseldorf ruled in 1993 that he must serve at least 20 years of his sentence on account of his "especially serious guilt".

Rolf Heissler was a part of the first generation of RAF guerrillas. After being arrested in 1971, his freedom was won by the kidnapping of the Berlin CDU party chairman Lorenz, an action carried out by another guerrilla organization, the Second of June Movement. In 1979, he was arrested once again in Frankfurt and was seriously wounded by a gunshot to the head. He was given a life-sentence for a shoot-out which killed two Dutch policemen in the town of Kerkrade.

Rolf Clemens Wagner has been in prison since 1979. In 1983, he was charged with participating in the Schleyer kidnapping and given three life-terms. In 1992, he was the first RAF prisoner who had to then submit to another trial based on the confessions of RAF defectors arrested in East Germany. During this so-called "state witness trial", Heissler was given another life-term for participating in the RAF's attack on NATO commander Haig.

**Freedom For All Political Prisoners!**

## Statement From Irmgard Möller

I didn't want to come out alone. But the fact that I did is representative of the way the present power relations are.

Many people are probably asking themselves how I managed to survive for so long.

The answer is simple: Because of the goals I fought for. I kept these goals alive, and because I always sensed a form of closeness to those people I fought together with, despite all of the state's attempts to prevent and destroy that.

I would never have been released, however, if it hadn't been for the international mobilization. And if there hadn't been people here who did continuous work for several years.

If the state had its way, I would never have gotten

*Photo*

## RAF News Shorts

### Eva Haule Sentenced For Frankfurt Air Base Attack

On April 28, 1994, Eva Haule got three life-terms for the August 1989 "Commando George Jackson" RAF attack on the Frankfurt air base. Haule was convicted despite the lack of any physical evidence. Instead, she was convicted on the basis of the state's legal doctrine of "collective guilt", which makes all RAF members involved in an action guilty of all aspects of the action, regardless of what they as individuals actually did. Birgit Hogefeld is also being charged with murder and attempted murder on the basis of this same doctrine, even though she was on the ground in handcuffs as Grams and the pigs exchanged fire in Bad Kleinen.

### Bernd Rößner Is Free!

After nearly 19 years of imprisonment, RAF-prisoner Bernd Rößner was granted an early release by German president Richard von Weizaecker. Roessner was part of the six-person "Holger Meins Commando" that occupied the German embassy in Stockholm to demand the release of 26 political prisoners. The stand-off ended with a police raid on the building which left two embassy personnel and two members of the RAF commando dead. Rößner and the other three surviving commando members were all given three life-sentences. Rößner has since renounced armed struggle and has expressed a desire to re-enter society after he is released from psychiatric care on May 16, 1994.

While in prison, Rößner's health was severely damaged by more than 10 years in isolation and by participation in a total of six hunger strikes. By the mid-1980s, Rößner's physical condition clearly classified him as "unfit for detention", but the German government refused to grant him an early release. During the last major RAF hungerstrike in 1989, Rößner was too physically weak to participate, but his release - and the release of all prisoners unfit for detention - was a major demand of the solidarity campaign around the hungerstrike.

### Adelheid Schulz Refuses To Participate In Kronzeugenprozeß

On May 25, 1994, a new Kronzeugenprozeß (state-witness trial; trials whose evidence is based solely on the statements given by former RAF members arrested in East Germany back in 1989) was opened in Stammheim against Adelheid Schulz. Schulz's health has suffered badly during her 11 years in prison, much of which has been spent in isolation. Schulz was originally sentenced back in 1985 for membership in the RAF. Schulz refused to take part in the trial and her lawyers denounced such state-witness trials as illegitimate. Schulz is accused of the shooting deaths of two Dutch border guards and involvement in the Kroesen attack.

On Tuesday, July 5, during the trial, Rolf Heißler refused to make any statements to the court after he was made to take the stand as a witness in the trial against Schulz. Because of his refusal, Heißler, another RAF-prisoner who is already serving a life-term, was fined 800 DM.



# Statement From RAF Political Prisoners Concerning Their Limited Hungerstrike

*On Wednesday, August 13, 1994, the limited hungerstrike being carried out by 13 imprisoned RAF-members was called off. The hungerstrike had been launched 17 days before on July 27 by 12 RAF-prisoners, who were joined the next day by Birgit Hogefeld, in order to press for the immediate release of Irmgard Möller, who has been in jail for more than 22 years. The state prosecutor's office in Heidelberg, however, refused to even consider the matter. The following is the declaration by the RAF prisoners that they issued when they began their hungerstrike:*

We are beginning a temporary hungerstrike to once again make known the present situation.

Irmgard will not be let out jail. The state prosecutor has made it known that her next hearing will be granted, if a court ruling is handed down requiring one, six months from now, or whenever. In other words, this is either a waiting period because of her refusal to submit to a psychiatric examination, or the entire process is starting all over again at square one - in any case, the authorities have decided that Irmgard will stay in jail for several more years, and by doing so, they are setting a "standard" for the rest of us.

We think that it's now plain for everyone to see that all of the judicial manoeuvrings that have been made with regards to us have led nowhere, and that even in individual cases, the entire impossibility can be seen: At present, Irmgard's fellow prisoners and all those persons that visit her are being required to hand in opinions, observations, and judgements to be used as material for a psychiatric "danger assessment". That which Irmgard refused must now also be rejected by all others who are close to her and politically aligned with her. We hope that everyone will refuse to take part in this process!

It is senseless and unrealistic to keep treading along this same path, concerning ourselves with false questions (like this recent "certification problem") and raising our hopes from one court hearing to the next. Because only one thing happens on this so-called judicial path: The state's political advantage, the ruling political intention, is played out. And it's clear what that is: Wolfgang, Birgit's prison conditions and the charges being brought against her, which are clearly designed to further the continuity of condemning all armed attacks which took place in Germany up until 1992; endless prison terms as a means of deter-

ring resistance; Eva's conviction; Heidi's trial and the entire procedure of state witness trials, which now will make it 150% sure that we will stay in prison until we die; more than 100 new political prisoners in jail; the banning of the PKK and the persecution of all politically active Kurds; trials against anti-fascists; police raids; Halim Dener, 16 years old, shot and killed by a plainclothes police officer while hanging posters.

That is the reality, not merely the latest scheme thought up by the state prosecutor's office, designed to draw everyone in, to get them to make signals to the justice department, and then, as with Irmgard, to have the hammer come down hard upon them.

Freedom, a real perspective for freedom for us political prisoners, can only be based around one central point: political will. That means articulating and bringing about a different political will other than the state's liquidation strategy, and also breaking this strategy down. We have failed to achieve that which we set out to achieve in 1988. But nonetheless, it is still essential to formulate and articulate a different political will. That, now as before, is the matter before us.

By means of this hungerstrike, we are hoping to bring the reality of the situation back into discussion and to sharpen people's focus on the way things really are. Our continued imprisonment, separation, and isolation, the fact that Irmgard must stay in jail despite 22 years of brutal prison conditions, the state's judicial rituals, which actually culminate in de facto death sentences - all of these things are continuing.

We don't believe that we will be able to exert decisive pressure to affect the proceedings in Lubeck, but we are calling on everyone to struggle for Irmgard's freedom, that she be released immediately, and we are asking people not to be fooled by the hearing proceedings, which are just a facade. It is clear that Irmgard must be set free, there are no doubts about this, despite the foolish proceedings which just leave everyone shaking their heads in disbelief. Irmgard has always struggled for purely political reasons, not due to the structure of her personality, which is now to be the object of a certification procedure. We completely reject that this should even be an issue, and that, considering the length of her detention and her shattered health, this whole issue is deeply cynical.

It is necessary to take a step forward, to clear our minds of the thoughts that have crept in over the past few years, to quit staring at the justice department's "offers", and to get off this sorrowful path which continues to worsen as the state keeps turning the screws one turn tighter.

Irmgard must be released!

July 27, 1994

Manuela Happe, Eva Haule, Rolf Heissler, Sieglinde Hoffman, Christian Klar, Hanna Krabbe, Christine Kuby, Irmgard Moeller, Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Helmut Pohl, Heidi Schulz, Rolf Clemens Wagner



... Continued from page 18

Both Schulz and Heißler are accused of involvement in a 1978 shoot-out with 4 Dutch border guards.

## Early Release For Stockholm Commando?

State prosecutor Kay Nehm filed a motion in a Düsseldorf court on July 6, 1994, to ask for an early release for RAF-prisoners Karl-Heinz Delkwo, Hanna Krabbe, and Lutz Taufer. All three have been in prison since the failed take-over of the German embassy in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1975. Bernd Roessner, the other surviving member of the "Holger Meins Commando", was granted an early release in May due to his poor health. Under German law, prisoners serving life-terms may be eligible for release from prison after 15 years. There are presently close to 20 RAF-prisoners serving life-terms in German prisons.

## Jakobsmeier And Kuby Released

On Friday, October 21, 1994, former RAF-member Ingrid Jakobsmeier was released after serving 2/3 of her 15-year sentence. Jakobsmeier was arrested in 1984 and sentenced in 1986 to serve 9 years in prison for being a member of the Red Army Fraction (RAF). At the end of this term, a second trial was opened against Jakobsmeier, based on statements given by RAF-traitor Henning Beer, one of a group of former RAF-members arrested in East Germany in 1990 who then became state witnesses. In this second trial, in which Jakobsmeier renounced her RAF membership, the court convicted Jakobsmeier of participating in the RAF attacks on the US airbase in Ramstein and the failed attack on US general Frederic Kroesen and therefore added another 6 years onto her sentence. Under German law, prisoners can be eligible for early release after serving 2/3 of their sentences. For life-terms, the minimum to be served is 15 years.

Christine Kuby, another RAF-member serving a life-term, was granted an early release in February 1995. Doctors stated that Kuby's health had seriously deteriorated over the past few months and that she should be classified as too unhealthy to be detained in prison.

Möller continued



# Statement From Birgit Hogefeld Concerning The Trial Opened Against Her In November

On November 15, 1994, the trial against me in the state court in Frankfurt will be opened. I am charged with various RAF actions from 1985-1993:

- The bombing of the U.S. airbase in Frankfurt and the shooting of the U.S. soldier Pimental;
- The attack on the former finance secretary and present head of the federal bank Tietmeyer during the IMF conference in 1987;
- The bombing of the newly-constructed prison Weiterstadt;
- In addition to these, I am also charged with murder and six counts of attempted murder of GSG-9 agents in Bad Kleinen.

The murder charges from Bad Kleinen are an answer to the political disaster which the state suffered during this action. It is suspected that the state's men executed Wolfgang Grams as he lay shot and seriously wounded on the ground - also the "sloppy mistakes" made by the police, namely the destruction of evidence, as well as the retirement of responsible officials, including the interior minister, all seem to indicate that an execution took place.

Since these doubts have by no means been erased, at least one RAF-member, namely me, must be charged and convicted of the shooting of GSG-9 officer Newrzella. At least that should serve to remove that doubts that perhaps Newrzella had been killed by friendly fire.

The fact that I was already overpowered and on the ground before the first shot had even been fired is ignored - they claim that Newrzella was shot by Wolfgang Grams, and that Wolfgang opened fire with my full understanding (since we were both organized in the RAF).

This is the judicial construction which is to lead to my conviction on the charge of "murdering" this GSG-9 officer.

In May of this year, Grams' parents attempted to have their case against the GSG-9, which had formerly been closed, re-opened. It is unlikely that they will have any success in getting the case re-opened. But even if the case does get re-opened, it will probably just get closed again soon thereafter.

By charging me in connection with Bad Kleinen, the state is hoping to use the trial as the only public means by which they can judicially finish off the entire GSG-9 action, in other words, the shooting of Wolfgang Grams.

Each charge (with the exception of the bombing of the prison) is enough for a life-sentence, and the recent state witness trials against two RAF-members, who have already been in prison for 12 years serving life-sentences, show where all of this is leading: the alleged victory over communism and all ideas of change and the utopia of a humane world have made them drunk with power - that which is being done to us stems partly from revenge, but at the same time it's also a threat to all those contemplating a new beginning.

The state has no "evidence" against me for any of the charges. They hope to prove my participation in the airbase action and the action against Tietmeyer

by showing that I rented or bought two cars. This will be "proven" by handwriting analyses from federal experts (according to state witness testimony used against other prisoners, the purchase of one of these cars was attributed to Sigrid Sternebeck).

This is their construction: Handwriting analyses will point out differences between different levels of possibility. The signatures, which they attribute to me, can't be placed in the highest category of possibility (because this would make it easy to file a counter-motion), so they will place them in the middle level of possibility, and since the RAF doesn't have that many members, even an uncertain possibility can qualify as a high possibility handwriting identification, thus making it possible to say that the signatures are mine.

As for the Tietmeyer action, they don't have any witnesses to prove I rented the vehicle. Shortly after my arrest, a meeting was planned in order to trick me, but I recognized this plan and kept my arms over my face. A woman witness, who rented out the vehicle six years ago, allegedly can say I, who had my arms across my face, was the one who rented the car, even though I

wasn't even present later on when other persons were presented for her to compare.

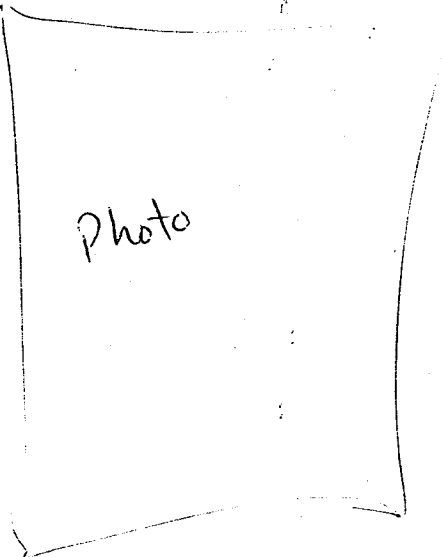
I would consider all of this to be a real joke, if it didn't represent the "most serious" evidence for sticking me with a life-sentence.

After seeing the many trials against RAF-prisoners in the last few years, there is no doubt what the outcome of mine will be - and right now from our side, there is a lack of pressure from leftist and progressive circles to prevent another life-sentence from being handed down.

As for the charges dealing with RAF actions, there won't be much to show, as has been the case with countless other similar trials - to use the words of Ulrike Meinhof: "We can't force them to tell the truth, we can only force them to become more shameful in their lies."

Birgit Hogefeld - October 1994

(Translated from *Angehörigen Info* #156)



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# The Case Of Opstand

## Repression Against Dutch Activists

On Wednesday, September 28, 1994, police searched the offices of the organization 'Opstand' in Amsterdam. At the office and at the homes of the organizers, police confiscated a lot of goods. The police are refusing to comment on the case. Only a few things are clear: Opstand and the people who work there are not suspected of anything. The searches took place as part of a police investigation of a certain anonymous person. The police are silent about the crimes of the case. Investigating magistrate Ruijs only said that the investigation started in October 1993. The only other fact that is known is that all of the detectives and magistrates working on the investigation come from The Hague. A lot of things are unclear. Here you are: no suspect, no witness (no members of Opstand were ever called in for questioning), what then?

Opstand is an investigation/action collective that aims at supporting left-wing groups. Their direct concerns are Toyotism [a radical-left analysis of capitalism put forward by the German intellectual Karl-Heinz Roth - trans.] and immigration issues. Most of the information that the police confiscated during these searches is about left-wing and social movements. But the motivation of the police action remains unclear. Is it, like in the past, an information operation to get insight into the left-wing movement? Does the law want to sabotage the work of Opstand? Or is the beginning of a wave of criminalization against people who support illegal immigrants?

### Repression Throughout The Years

The repression of social movements worked also in the past, often together with giving more space in the tracing capabilities of police and the law. There was great repression against social movements in the late-80s as the state's apparatus expanded. An important moment in this time was the use of Article 140 (membership in a criminal organization) against the squatters of the 'Marienburcht' in Nijmegen in 1987. Police and the law used the big public indignation around the violent resistance of the squatters against the eviction of this building to test this old piece of legislation. Using Article 140 opened a new world of investigation techniques for them. From the Marienburcht investigation you can see that the police dug through the entire squatters movement. They gathered photos, names, telephone calls, and observation reports on hundreds of people. The police information services (PID) ran overtime, and, in fact, the criminal justice investigation was misused to gather as much information about the social movement as possible. The interesting thing about Article 140 is that you see not only the prosecution but also the development of investigation techniques, thanks to the vague construction of "membership in an organization that has intent to commit crimes". To get a better view of this "anonymous group", the state can gather information about more people, much more than they could before at the so-called "proactive stage" (before the actual prosecution). The state has gotten much more competent at doing this. That is why they started to use Article 140 more: In 1987 against the newspaper 'Knipselkrant', in 1989 against the pirate radio station Radio 100, and later against the squatters of the WNC complex in Groningen.

### Government Immigration Policies

The activities of the social movements in The Netherlands however have decreased in the last years. Even the Dutch secret intelligence service (BVD) is less interested. They say: "The movement of political activists has to do with a small willingness to action and a lack of action fields that stirs the imagination." Just as before, these movements are still interest the intelligence service, but the breaking down of the justice system is no longer being put over the backs of the social movements. Anyhow, the government is also interested in organizations that are still active, even in "quiet times", for example in the area of immigration policy. Especially in this area you can see the breaking down of the justice system very clearly. The judicial position of immigrants in The Netherlands is getting worse and worse and almost all the possibilities have been barricaded for those who still try to migrate to The Netherlands. With a special jail for refugees (they call this a "border hotel") and the newly opened application centre, The Netherlands has become one of the countries with the most restrictive immigration policy. The policy towards illegal immigration has seriously changed in the last few years. From the former policy of illegal aliens being tolerated for a long time, the law is now almost so that illegals can be denied all kinds of supplies such as health care and housing. The long-detested hunt for illegal immigrants has now become very open. With mobile brigades, border police guard the borders and extra police organize controls in the city. Altogether a sad change for a country that was once known for its tolerance. The movement against this policy is closely watched, especially because of the fact that the group RARA (Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action) uses this policy to justify its bomb attacks. In their investigation of RARA the police are using a new crime analysis computer program, 'Oktopus', one that gives the opportunity to combine different sorts of information. Phone taps, observations, information from informants, photos, etc. fill the system. You don't need to guess that a lot of people who resist the immigration policies of the state are in this computer system. This system of investigation, in which people are slowly selected from out of a bigger group of active people, is similar to the situation in Germany. People who were active on issues which the RAF worked on were immediately suspect and investigated under Paragraph 129a (support for a terrorist organization).

### Organized Crime

The decline of the justice system is not only apparent in the illegal immigration policy or the repression against social movements, and Article 140 was not only designed to be used against people who organize and carry out political actions. In 1987, the state already used this construction to close down a large number of pirate radio's. In 1989, Article 140 was expanded so that they could tap the phones of soccer hooligans to gather information about the crimes they were going to commit. In the last few years, the expansion of police powers and the tightening of the law was mainly shown in the fight against organized crime. Hirsch Balin, the former justice minister, flung himself as a knight in the battlefield and pushed through different new law proposals which gave the police and law more power, with the ac-

## Dutch Activists Accused Of Membership In RARA

This information is about what is going on in Holland these days. On September 28, 1994, police searched the offices of a left-wing group called 'Opstand'. When the article *The Case of Opstand* was written, the members of this group were not considered suspects. But last November there were some changes. Two members of the group, Hans Krikke and Jan Muter, are now charged with being members of a criminal organization under Article 140. They are accused of being the co-producers of, or at least involved with, the writing of a RARA (Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action) communique after a bomb attack on the house of the Dutch justice minister Kosto, who is responsible for Dutch immigration policy. RARA is a left-wing revolutionary group:

"Our politics are certainly internationalist in their orientation. Any form of left-wing politics that is not internationalist has little perspective. Except for the fact that the conditions under which people around the world live are always changing, internationalism is a historical truth." (RARA, 1993)

In the 1980s, RARA bombed corporations that cooperated with the racist South African government. Over the last few years, they have aimed their attacks against the Dutch and European immigration policy makers. Ever since the existence of RARA, the police and the law have been focusing on the group, without any results.

It's unclear what is going to happen next. The state accuses people in the media but refuses to show any proof. About 150 organizations, journalists, and other groups have joined together to defend and support the accused. This support group organized a protest demonstration on January 23, 1995 in The Hague to coincide with a court case against the house searches and to demand that all files in this case be made public. We'll try to keep you informed about this case.

Revolutionary greetings,

**Solidariteitsgroep Politieke Gevangenen**  
Postbus 3762  
1001 AN Amsterdam  
The Netherlands

E-mail: tank@xs4all.nl

knowledge that this was an operation to make up arrears: The rules had to be adapted to the practice! This led to a series of new law proposals, some of which have already become laws. Some examples are: The tapping of conversations with a long distance microphone, the copying of computer files during house searches (also those connected to networks), the extension of possibilities for house searches, and the introduction of crown witnesses at criminal proceedings. Next to the tightened law there is also an increase in crime-fighting services, which are connected to work together. Six new detective forces and five new IRTs (a sort of Dutch FBI), which can fully focus themselves on organized crime, have been





founded. The Criminal Information Services (CID) got more space to work pro-active. Also, the special investigation services like FIOD (an organization that hunts down tax criminals) work coordinated together with the police and the law. And still the current tracing practice of the police goes much further than the law allows. This is proven almost weekly in the media: Breaking in to look around, illegal tapping, creating their own white-wash companies, etc. It looks like the police do not shrink from anything. This attention is probably why the parliament is going to organize a parliamentary inquiry about the investigation methods of the police.

#### Conclusion

In the last years the actions of the police and the law find their justification more and more in the fight against "organized crime". What they say about the size and influence of this organized crime is being criticized in many ways. Is it really as bad as the law leads us to believe, or was this invincible dragon with a thousand heads just made up by them? Meanwhile

the actions of the police make it possible for everyone in Holland to find her- or himself to be part of an investigation. One phone call with someone who is in the eyes of the law, a "wrong person", can put you in this system. Also, the tapping of car-phones on a big scale seems one of their normal activities. And because the law about the destruction of old evidence isn't always followed, someone who was arrested for placing a bomb was seen on a photo that should have been destroyed long ago. An upside down world in which it is no longer clear who and when somebody is a suspect. Nobody at Opstand is a suspect or a witness, but the material seems to be so interesting that the investigating magistrate signed the house search papers. The judge in The Hague will have to decide if the investigating magistrate had enough reason for this. There is a big possibility that the judge will say it was okay and will be silent about the case. This is a new way to criminalize all kinds of groups. They always say, where there's smoke there's, and there is no way to defend yourself because the law is silent.

Bureau Jansen & Janssen

## Solidarity With Revolutionary Prisoners

We are a committee formed by two Italian political groups (Il Bollettino and Solidarieta Proletaria), which have been focusing on revolutionary political prisoners for a number of years, since the early eighties.

Our activity of support for political prisoners not disassociated from the class struggle develops on several levels and goes from the publication (through a bi-monthly magazine and a quarterly information paper) of documents, political analysis written by the prisoners to various material activities (medical treatment, sending of money, books, magazines, etc.) and political support such as counter-information meetings, solidarity festivals, struggles supporting the demands of prisoners, etc.

We believe that this solidarity activity is of great importance and, while not being the primary task of communists, does belong to the communist and revolutionary movement because political prisoners are a part, the product and the living memory of this movement.

Throughout the years we were interested not only in the political prisoners of our country but also, as far as possible, in the conditions and struggles of political prisoners in other countries, especially of the European countries due to the greater homogeneity of the political struggles and of the counter-insurgency policies in this area.

After collective debate and reflection carried out over the last few months, we have thought it important to give more relief to the activity of support, information and political solidarity towards the communist and revolutionary prisoners from Western Europe within our publications and activities. That is why we are writing to you: to ask for your help and your cooperation to build permanent relations of mutual exchange of news, information and publications aimed at creating a network of all the solidarity groups for solidarity with revolutionary political prisoners in Western Europe. If you are interested, please write to us as soon as possible so we can start this project: *Solidarieta Proletaria, C.P. 17030, 20130 Milan, Italy*

## Italian Political Prisoner Needs Support

In December 1992, Salvatore Cirincione was arrested in Milan, Italy after having been on the run for 8 years. He was sent to prison in the 80's for being a member of the revolutionary group "Azione Rivoluzionaria" and managed to escape. But he kept having serious health problems from regular beatings and torture from prison staff. He now suffers from haemorrhaging and infections. They just kept him alive, without any real treatment.

In July 1993 prison authorities decided that he must stay in prison regardless of his health problems. They also said that "as an active anarchist he is a danger to society". Worse than that, the Ministry of Justice has now decided not to supply the medicine he needs to stay alive. Also, he can't go to any good clinics as they refuse to treat prisoners.

Salvatore's current state of health is very bad. Due to beatings and torture he has lost one testicle, he has broken bones around his pelvis, and his "genital apparatus is dead". Salvatore keeps fighting for his rights by going on hunger strikes - he himself saw two sick prisoners who were allowed to die by the state.

This could and does happen everywhere - behind every so-called "democratic system" there's an authoritarian state terrorism which tortures and kills. Against the fascist Europe they build we need to show practical solidarity with all anarchist and class struggle prisoners.

Help Salvatore financially. Make cheques payable to 121 Bookshop and send them to:

121 Railton Road, London, SE24 0LR, England

Send letters of support to:

Salvatore Cirincione, Carcere di san Vittore, Milan, Italy

For further information contact:

Massimo Leonardi, Applequince, Via d. Corui 41, 01100 Viterbo, Italy

(From: *Taking Liberties* #12 - Fall 1994)

## News In Brief...

On July 3, 1994, four villas were destroyed and two vacation homes damaged in a series of bombings claimed by the FLNC (Corsican National Liberation Front). No persons were injured. The following night, another eight French-owned vacation homes were destroyed. The FLNC is waging a campaign to gain independence from France for the Mediterranean island of Corsica (ND)... On July 29, 1994, a massive carbomb explosion in the old section of the Spanish capital city of Madrid killed a high-ranking Spanish general, along with his bodyguard and driver; several police officers and Guardia Civil soldiers standing nearby were wounded. The general, 69-year-old Francisco Beguillas, was a close associate of Spain's defence minister Garcia Vargas. The attack was a response by the Basque separatist organization ETA to government "resocialization" plans, by which ETA-prisoners can be released from jail if they publicly denounce violence and call on the ETA leadership to abandon its struggle. Also a part of this government plan are drastically eased prison conditions for jailed police officers who had carried out actions on behalf of the right-wing terrorist organization GAL, whose members killed more than 20 Basque political activists throughout the 1980s... On September 11, 1994, on the eve of the 21st anniversary of the military coup which overthrew of Salvador Allende, in Santiago, Chile, the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) blew up a power pylon outside the city and later bombed a shoe store and the offices of a state-owned coal company. Also, leftist demonstrators clashed with police outside a cemetery after paying homage at the grave of Marxist president Salvador Allende. Police had to use tear gas and water cannons to drive back some 7,000 demonstrators who were pelting them with rocks... On September 19, 1994, a bus taking police officers to work in the Perissos section of Athens was fired upon with a bazooka. The blast killed one cop and wounded nine others. The attack was claimed by the leftist organization **Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA)**... In September 1994, French police arrested 6 people and found a bomb factory in an operation against an ETA safehouse in southwest France. In November, Spanish police raided what they called the headquarters of the Viscaya command of ETA, killing 1 and capturing 2 others. A week later, French police arrested a further 5 suspected ETA members. After the arrests, demonstrators in Euskadi attacked police and barricaded roads, and at least 10 demonstrators were arrested after Basque youth fought running battles with police in Viscaya and Guipuzoca... After a few months of inactivity, the "neighborhood guerrilla" organization in Berlin-Kreuzberg "**Klasse gegen Klasse**" (**Class Against Class - KGK**) has come back to life. In a communique delivered to the liberal newspaper taz, KGK claimed responsibility for a bombing on September 10, 1994, which damaged a house in the Berlin neighborhood of Zehlendorf belonging to a well-known real estate speculator. And on Friday, September 23, KGK firebombed the car belonging to Berlin's former mayor, Walter Momper (SPD). Momper was





# When The Struggle For Parole Becomes An Act Of Protest

By Alberto Rodriguez, Puerto Rican P.O.W.



It is quite ironic that deciding to appear before the United States Federal Parole Commission (Parole Board) seems to me like an act of protest against the objectification of myself and all the Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War by both the government and the independence movement. For the first time in many years I feel that I am not an object - voiceless and helpless. My decision to appear before the parole board is not a renunciation of my POW status but an act of recognition that the world has changed dramatically since I was captured 11 years ago. Not only has the world political configuration changed but so have the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and the political tendency that I and all the POW's were a part of. We prisoners are expected to sacrifice ourselves and our families for an ideal that is no longer shared by the Puerto Rican left or even those organizations with which we are politically aligned. We are expected to remain in prison upholding some ideal of resistance in absence of a strategy, without a political organization committed to revolutionary practice, minus a meaningful political relationship with the movement and exclusive of a campaign whose priority is our release. For the Puerto Rican POW's to remain permanently wedded to a particular conception of a principle created over a decade and a half ago, under the above-stated conditions is to misinterpret political principle as religion. Under these conditions I see the organizing of a parole campaign as an act of resistance and protest against the present stagnant state of affairs and the hypocrisy and opportunism that is has bred.

Political Prisoners are confronted with a myriad of conditions which each day intensifies our marginalization from the world outside the walls and aggravates our sense of isolation and powerlessness. The state separates us from our community and the political movement we represent from the very day of our capture. Through a process of criminalization we are dehumanized. Instead of political activists we are labelled terrorists and criminals; we are objectified into monsters seen outside the pale of legitimate political struggle. But there is another process of objectification and dehumanization which is even more difficult because none of us ever expected it. This is the marginalization and objectification of the political prisoners, by the very movements and organizations which purport to support us. While this objectification is not malicious in intent, different than that of the state, it nevertheless has a debilitating and dehumanizing effect.

Throughout the process of capture, arraignment, trial and sentencing we were involved in an organic relationship of struggle. For the most part we were able to use our trials to project our politics of struggle and resistance to colonialism. Considering how the whole machinery of the state and its ally - the media - attacked us, we were fairly successful in resisting their attempts to marginalize us from our community. Throughout our trials our relationship with the struggle was real and vibrant, together we worked to fight the state's attempts to criminalize not just us, the prisoners, but the whole movement. But something happened one we were sentenced and packed off to far away prisons. Our participation became less desired; our opinions, our ideas, our

concerns or our criticisms increasingly ignored or brushed off as unrealistic or dismissed as emotional.

All of us began doing time enthusiastically, wanting to do political work, wanting to search for ways to continue the practice of struggle we enjoyed during our trial. We painted, wrote poetry and articles, sat down and developed position papers and searched for creative ways to maintain a real position within the struggle. As years passed we suffered personal losses: deaths of loved ones, the end of personal relationships, our children growing up without us, abandonment by friends and in some cases by our own families. We also began to see the political reality change radically and as we struggled to understand it and to find a place in it, we found ourselves cut off, marginalized. All this coupled with the rigours of doing time began to wear us down - some more than others. Where there was once enthusiasm we now see apathy, where there was a desire to participate we see passivity and where there was once a spirit of camaraderie with those on the outside we sense estrangement.

I have only now begun to grapple with this reality and can only speak to this process of alienation as it pertains to me, though I dare say it is the same for others.

The various "campaigns" in support of political prisoners all share several commonalities. One is the lack of will to bring the prisoners themselves into the process of liberation. Ironically those very same organizations and groupings that work for the release of the political prisoners have effectively marginalized us from the political work itself. Our poetry or art work is welcomed but as mere adornments to programs and strategies in which we have little or no say, particularly if we've voiced opposition. It seems that our participation is to produce relics for galleries and museums.

What is not welcomed is our voice and surely not our leadership. While we continue to demonstrate how we can contribute to the struggle in spite of all the odds against us (i.e. Elizam's art exhibits, Tim Blunk's and Ray Levasseur's Hauling Up The Morning; the work by white political prisoners in developing the Freedom Now Campaign; Luisito's soon to be released collection of short stories and poetry, Linda Evans', David Gilbert's, Judy Clark's, and Kathy Boudin's work in struggling for effective programs to combat AIDS in prison; Mumia's work in raising consciousness against a racist criminal justice system and especially its use of the death penalty to terrorize people of color; and the countless other examples) we are told what our marginalization is not by intent but the unavoidable consequences of being in prison. Another commonality is our objectification. We are pictures in a book, our faces are on murals, our names are on lists or our art work displayed, but our voices are silent. Decisions which affect us are reached without our participation and when we question these decisions we are simply ignored at best or worse accused of trying to run things from in prison: a terrible sin. The world changes and movements do also, but we are not allowed to, we are to remain frozen in some

surrealistic representation of past/future, but with no present. We are hailed as freedom fighters of the past worthy of future veneration, but with no real role in the present.

This has gone on for over a decade and I find it intolerable. I am a political person whose humanity is affirmed by my actions and my practice. As a colonial being and now a civil slave I must be involved and active to maintain my humanity. As a prisoner incarcerated for my political actions I must be involved in my own liberation; as a father, a son, a brother, a friend, a human being I cannot continue this passivity. This is why I have chosen to go before the parole board - not as a retreat but as a step towards reclaiming political space denied to me. I have no illusions that the parole board is going to release me when I appear before it later this year. The decision to free any of the political prisoners or POW's will be a political one and right now there is no real pressure on the U.S. Government to release us through parole, amnesty, unconditional release, executive clemency or whatever. The struggle for parole is a vehicle to once again go out into the community to raise the issue of the prisoners. In the very short time that I have been working with others on my parole I have seen the potential it has to organize and mobilize. It is truly absurd for the campaign to ignore work around parole because it continues to adhere to a static and absolutist strategy. Instead of seeing the liberation of the prisoners as a process it is seen as a means to achieve only one acceptable objective through only one correct method. It is a strategy incomprehensible to many and inarticulate by most.

Over two decades ago young Puerto Ricans came together in the ghettos of the U.S. to reclaim our history and our struggle against colonialism. We studied our past, a past which was kept from us and had the mystic of a secret. We studied how the Tainos fought the Spanish Conquest and learned from them. We studied about how the African slaves conspired against their masters and learned from them also. We read and studied the struggle of the Puerto Rican against Spanish Colonialism and were inspired by it. Then we studied the Nationalist Movement of this century and recognized our political antecedents. We came together and developed a political struggle which took from our past that which was relevant and then went about creating our own strategies, based not on dogma or repetition of the past, but on an analysis of the present. We were able to emulate the spirit of struggle of the Taino, of the Cimarron, of the Jibaro and of the Nationalists without duplicating their strategies or politics. We came together around clear points of unity and developed our principles of struggle through that process. We came together to free the 5 Nationalist POW's and gave everything we could to achieve their freedom. We can emulate Andres, Oscar, Irvin, Rafael, and Lolita and be in-

*continued on page*



# The Continuation Of Struggle By Other Means

By Edwin Cortés, Puerto Rican P.O.W.

After a rather long, cumbersome, and tedious struggle, I have decided to join the ranks of Puerto Rican Prisoners of War Haydee Beltran, Carlos Alberto Torres, Dylcia Pagan, and Alberto Rodriguez, all of whom have appeared or will appear before a U.S. Parole Board. I support my companero Alberto Rodriguez's rationale for appearing before the Parole Board as articulated in his declaration entitled "When The Struggle For Parole Becomes An Act Of Protest".

I approach the Parole Board as part of a multi-prong political/legal strategy to expose the contradictory and politically biased parole process as it relates to political activists, as well as to organize, educate and mobilize our community towards the excarceration of political prisoners and POWs. I will reassert my right as a political subject to struggle for human rights and fundamental freedoms of which independence for Puerto Rico is an integral part. I do not consider my decision as contradictory to my posture as a POW, nor a violation of my principles and commitments. It is not a sign of weakness, nor collaboration.

While in prison during this last decade, I have encountered hundreds of our youth who have never heard of the FALN, its actions, or of our POW status. It is for our youth and future generations that I feel obligated to become a political protagonist in the struggle for our excarceration and national freedom. The following review will help illustrate the historical development of the POW position. In 1978, after his capture in Queens, New York, Guillermo Morales became the first Puerto Rican to declare himself a POW thereby challenging U.S. jurisdiction to try him

as an armed combatant. In 1979, Angel Rodriguez Cristobal was arrested during a confrontation with the U.S. military in Vieques, Puerto Rico. At his trial Angel asserted his right to be tried as a Prisoner of War. Upon their capture in 1980, Carlos Alberto Torres, Dylcia Pagan, Haydee Beltran, Carmen Valentine, Elizam Escobar, Lucy Rodriguez, Luis Rosa, Alicia Rodriguez, Adolfo Matos, and Ricardo Jimenez all declared themselves POWs, refused to recognize U.S. authority to try them, demanded to be tried by an international court, and practised total voluntary absentia from all legal proceedings before U.S. courts. However, in 1981, with the capture of Oscar Lopez Rivera, Oscar departs from the position of total voluntary absentia by attending his trial, making an opening and closing statement to the jury, and cross examining the traitor Alfredo Mendez. He utilized the court as a political forum to articulate the basis of the POW stance, to expose U.S. colonial domination and practices in Puerto Rico, and to reassert his right under international law to be tried as a POW.

Alejandrina Torres, Alberto Rodriguez and myself were taken captive in 1983 in Chicago, Illinois. We declared ourselves POWs, but expanded upon Oscar's use of the courts as a political forum. During the pretrial phase of our legal case, we submitted a motion to expose and end our 10 1/2 months of punitive and political internment in solitary confinement, and another motion to suppress the illegal use of video surveillance, which was granted, but overturned on appeal. We participated in evidentiary hearings for the purpose of exposing the FBI's smear campaign against the Puerto Rican Cultural Centre. And we filed an Omnibus Motion based on international laws which guarantee our rights to be tried as anti-colonial freedom fighters.

During our trial we were present in court, made opening and closing statements to the jury, and cross-examined FBI agents. Our use of the U.S. courts was not in violation of the POW position, nor a recognition of U.S. authority over ourselves or our homeland. We challenged the unlawful and colonial authority of the U.S. government over Puerto Rico and utilized maximum political/legal flexibility to fight the government's attempt to criminalize our actions, POW status, and our movement for national liberation. Our posture was best articulated by Commander Don Juan A. Corretjer in his expose "Sedition: The Impossible Crime."

My decision to appear before the Parole Board is also based, in part, on my discussions with the other POWs and sectors of the independence movement that support us, concerning other forms of struggle that should be utilized

Marks + Willett Surrender

in the campaign for our excarceration. The companera, Haydee Beltran, initiated this discussion in 1990 when she decided to appear before the Parole Board. In July of 1991, Carlos Alberto Torres decided to appear before the Parole Board, and Dylcia went to the Parole Board in September 1994. While neither Haydee, nor Carlos nor Dylcia received parole, the work they did around their parole hearings revealed the potential for generating renewed interest in working for our release.

It was before the courts that the POW posture was developed, became more vibrant to our communities, and allowed us to be political protagonists in the struggle towards our excarceration. I intend to pursue the same political/legal approach which I utilized during my trial as well as embrace all political/legal remedies to which I have access under international law and U.S. law such as Parole, the Courts, Presidential Amnesty/Pardon/Commutation, United Nations, Organization of American States, the World Court, etc. in order to become an active political subject in the campaign to excarcerate all political prisoners and POWs.

As the United States government continues to call for the release of political prisoners in other parts of the world, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement must insert itself onto the world agenda in order to expose the continued colonial domination of our country as well as the imprisonment of its combatants. The parole process allows me to be part of the ongoing struggle in Puerto Rico to develop other forms of social, economic, and political projects that will once again galvanize the Puerto Rican people toward national independence and social justice.

Photo

**Political Prisoners in USP Lewisburg (Clockwise from the top): North American Anti-Imperialist Tim Taylor-Blunk, Puerto Rican P.O.W.'s Ricardo Jimenez, Edwin Cortés and Alberto Rodríguez**



# Political Prisoner News From Japan

Osamu Maruoka, a member of the Japanese Red Army (JRA), was sentenced to life in prison at the beginning of December 1994 for his alleged involvement in two airline hijackings in 1970s. One of those actions, carried out in September 1977, successfully forced the Japanese government to release 6 jailed guerrillas and also pay a ransom of six million dollars. Maruoka was arrested in November 1987 after trying to enter Japan with a false passport... In July 1994, Japan's Supreme Court rejected an appeal from Katsuhisa Omori (see related article), who was sentenced to death for his alleged participation in an anti-imperialist bombing attack carried out in March 1976 against the government office of the Hokkaido Prefecture on Japan's northernmost island. Two people died in the attack. A statement released after the attack protested against Japanese imperialism and Japan's mistreatment of the Ainu native peoples on Hokkaido, as well as Okinawans, Koreans, Taiwanese, and other Asian peoples... In July 1994, an incendiary device was found outside the home of Judge Katsuya Onishi, the man who rejected Katsuhisa Omori's appeal. The device did not explode... A group doing support work for imprisoned members of the East Asian Anti-Japan Armed Front (EAAJAF), a militant

organization which carried out a series of anti-imperialist/anti-colonialist attacks in the 1970s against Japanese government and corporate targets, is in desperate need of technical advice to assist them in their legal appeals. Two EAAJAF members are currently on death row in Japan, and the support group is attempting to prove that the EAAJAF did not intend to kill anyone in their bombings. For example, an August 30, 1974 attack by the "Wolf Unit" of the EAAJAF on a Mitsubishi building resulted in 8 deaths. The group later stated that these deaths resulted from the unit's inexperience with explosives; since the explosion went off in a very confined space, they had not expected glass to fall from higher floors, which is what caused most of the deaths. The state prosecutor in the case claimed that the EAAJAF intended to kill people indiscriminantly, but the group's supporters would like to disprove this notion. The support group is looking for ordinance experts to give testimony during the appeals. For more information, contact:

**EAAJAF Rescue Committee**  
2-39-7-404 Nishinippori  
Arakawa-ku, Tokyo  
Japan

## Death Sentence Upheld For Katsuhisa Omori

The sentence of the "Hokkaido Prefecture office-bombing case" was passed for Katsuhisa Omori at 1:30 pm on July 15, 1994 at the Supreme Court in Tokyo. Within the month following the previous oral proceedings, held on June 6, the defense counsel and the Omori Defense Group had expected that the bench wouldn't consider the entire testimony given in the oral proceedings. Consequently, the judgement passed down to Omori was a "dismissal of an appeal".

This judgement proves that this trial was a "political trial" used to judge the thoughts and beliefs of Omori. Despite the fact that he was not involved with the August 10, 1976 Prefecture office-bombing, he became convicted as "one of the criminals" because he expressed thoughts of "Han-nichi Bokoku" (anti-Japan/destruction of the Japanese state).

Prosecutors and court authorities had fabricated circumstantial evidence and invented eye-witnesses, stacking them up against an innocent Omori who is now on death row. This trial will go down as a precedent in the history of justice that the court has utilized false evidence to convict an individual who has never made a confession, especially when this sort of injustice is going to be forced through in other "public security cases". The time is nearing when police and prosecution authorities will have more grounds for prosecuting activists with criminal charges on little or no evidence. We believe that this sentence falls in line with the state policy of public suppression.

On the July 15, 1994, many people who had been involved in defending Omori throughout his trial came to gather at the Supreme Court. While they were in the queue for admission tickets, they unfolded banners proclaiming Omori's innocence. A street-theatre action was played out in the street which demonstrated the fabrication of evidence in the case. Police were mobilized to disperse this action.

Inside the court, no one stood up to pay their respect to the bench. Omori was not allowed to even attend the proceedings, as the Chief of Justice, Katsuya

Onishi, announced that the appeal was dismissed. As he left the courtroom with three other prosecutors, people in the gallery erupted into anger and kicked over chairs. A folding fan was thrown at the judges as all hearers refused the order to leave the court. Bailiffs expelled people from the courtroom as a unit of riot cops were ready to be dispatched. Anarchists shouted "Free Omori!" and "We shall win!" as they marched outside the building.

An excerpt from a statement from the Omori Defense Group read: "We firmly demand that the Supreme Court repeal and reverse the judgement of 'death penalty' and pass Omori a judgement of innocence under the true justice."

(Condensed from a report by ARP, PO Box 57, Sakyo, Kyoto, 606 Japan)

*Alberto continued*

*...News In Brief continued*  
responsible for the November 1990 eviction of the Mainzer Strasse squats in East Berlin. According to KGK, Mompers symbolizes "the lack of morality of the majority of the 'elevated' middle-class, not only here in Kreuzberg". KGK has carried out around 43 attacks in the last three years, usually firebombings of expensive cars or yuppie restaurants in the Kreuzberg section of West Berlin... In Milan, Italy in September 1994, protestors clashed with police and set fire to cars during a demonstration against the closure of a 'centro sociale' (social centre). Police sprayed tear gas at some of the 10,000 people they said took part in the protest, which had been called in response to the city's failure to find a new location for the centre after it was shut down at the request of Milan's mayor... Also in Milan, Italy, in October 1994, Italy's highest court of appeal ordered a retrial of four left-wing activists acquitted of the murder 22 years ago of a detective held responsible by the left for the death of an anarchist, Giuseppe Pinelli. Pinelli was officially reported to have jumped from a police station window but in reality was thrown by police. Four members of the group **Lotta Continua (Continuous Struggle)** were found guilty of the murder in 1990, but were acquitted on appeal in December 1993... On December 10, 1994, various left-wing and autonomist groups in Germany called for a nation-wide demonstration to protest against the European Union (EU) summit meeting being held in Essen, Germany. The courts, however, banned all demonstrations against the summit. Despite the ban, around 2,000 people made it into downtown Essen to hold the demonstration. However, they were far outnumbered by the 7,000 police stationed in the city. The result was a record number of arrests, the most ever at a demonstration in Germany. Police reported 918 arrests; organizers think the number topped 1,000... In December 1994, 10 cars belonging to officials of Tokyo's Narita international airport were destroyed by timed incendiary devices. According to airport officials, this was the eighth attack in 1994 by activists seeking to block expansion of the airport. Similar incendiary devices have been used in previous attacks of airport facilities... On December 6, 1994, in Cologne, Germany, a Turkish communist group claimed responsibility for the firebombing of three Turkish businesses. The **TKP/ML (Turkish Communist Party/Marxist-Leninist)** stated in a leaflet that the firebombs were an act of retaliation for the arrest of a TKP/ML activist in Turkey.



# Interview With Ali Jeddah

Spokesperson For The Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine (PFLP)

**What ties existed between the recently-arrested alleged terrorist "Carlos" and the PFLP? Was he a member of the PFLP or a hired killer?**

Despite the fact that I was in jail in Israel for 18 years, I was able to follow the activities and operations of "Carlos", and I can definitely say that "Carlos" was not a member of the PFLP. Nor was he a paid "killer". We don't hire people. The relationship between "Carlos" and the PFLP was part of the international cooperation between leftists and revolutionaries around the world. Naturally this cooperation was also carried out at the military level.

**What ideology united "Carlos" and the PFLP?**

Anti-imperialism. "Carlos" was, and surely still is, convinced that imperialism as a global system has to be done away with. In the 1970s and 1980s, he considered the Near East to be a weak link in the imperialist chain and was therefore active in this region. He considered the PFLP to be the only

Palestinian faction which closely represented his ideology and politics.

**Can you explain at what time period this "cooperation", as you call it, took place between "Carlos" and the PFLP?**

The political and military cooperation ended after a few years in 1972, after the 3rd PFLP conference took place. Wadi Haddad, who was responsible for overseas operations, was expelled from the organization because he was not willing to follow majority decisions. After that, "Carlos" no longer worked with the PFLP, but rather with the group around Haddad and with other Palestinian organizations in South America and Europe.

**It has been suggested that "Carlos" was also responsible for anti-Palestinian actions. Is that true?**

As far as I know, he only carried out one action

of this sort, one which I consider to be legitimate, namely the execution of PFLP-member and double-agent Michel Courbal in France. Courbal was supposed to hand "Carlos" over to the French authorities.

**"Carlos" is also accused of anti-Jewish attacks. What is your position on this?**

I am worried that his trial will take on a definite anti-Palestinian character, particularly directed against the Palestinian Opposition (those Palestinian organizations, including the PFLP, that reject the Israel-PLO peace accord -ed.). They will probably accuse us of being terrorists as well. If the French authorities were honest, then they would also concern themselves with the dozens of actions carried out on French soil by the Israel intelligence agency Mossad. I strongly condemn anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic actions. We are not struggling against Jews, but rather against the Israeli occupation forces. If a soldier or a settler is killed, that is not because they are Jewish, but rather because they are occupiers. Besides, there are several Jews that sympathize with the PFLP.

(Translated From *Junge Welt* #196)

## Marc Rudin, PFLP Supporter, Sentenced To Eight Years

On October 20/93, the Swiss anti-imperialist Marc Rudin was sentenced to 8 years in prison by a Danish court. Marc was the alleged "5th man" in a November 3/88 robbery of close to \$2 million from a post office, during which a police officer was shot. This money was used to support the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Marc's involvement in the case came about after the April 13/89 arrest of four former Maoists who were accused of several robberies, including the 1988 post office robbery. These four later renounced armed struggle in the metropolises and gave statements to police about a someone known as "Paul", a non-Danish comrade, the alleged "5th man" involved in the post office robbery. A year and a half later, Marc Rudin was arrested while crossing the Syrian border into Turkey. Marc was tortured while in custody in Turkey, where he was sentenced to 17 months in prison for illegal border crossing and for possessing false identification

papers. On April 28/93, Marc was deported to Denmark. It is widely assumed that the Mossad, Israel's secret service agency, worked in close cooperation with Danish authorities on Marc Rudin's case in an effort to hinder groups and individuals involved with providing practical, anti-imperialist solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Marc Rudin was raised in Switzerland in the 1950s. He later studied graphic design in Italy, where he became active in the radical operaist and squatters' movements. He then became active in the Palestinian solidarity movement in France before returning to Switzerland. In the early-80s, Marc fled to Syria/Lebanon to escape state repression. There, he worked as a graphic design artist for the PFLP. Under the name Jihad Mansour, he designed many of the cover designs for "Democratic Palestine", the English-language publication of the PFLP.

**For more information:**

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Denmark



## Norway Arrests Mogadishu Survivor

Norwegian police announced on October 19, 1994 that they had arrested 41-year-old Souhaila Saini Andrawes (aka Soraya Ansari), the only survivor of the 1977 GSG-9 assault on a Lufthansa airliner which had been hijacked by a four-person PFLP commando in an attempt to force the release of 11 Red Army Fraction political prisoners held in Germany, as well as 2 Palestinian prisoners. Five days after the initial hijacking, the plane was stormed in Mogadishu, Somalia; three guerrillas were killed, and Andrawes was captured. She was sentenced to 20 years in a Somali prison, but was released one year later, after which she disappeared. The German courts requested her extradition, but were turned down by the Norwegian government which cited humanitarian reasons. Andrawes is married and has been living in Norway for several years. New reports have stated that Andrawes has given important information to federal investigators from Germany, including the name of a person who had been suspected but not convicted for the action.





Guerrilla

# Devrimci Sol Becomes DHKP-C

## Dursun Karatas Arrested In France; Later Released

A series of devastating police raids in 1991 resulted in the deaths of several Devrimci Sol militants. Questions about who was responsible for these defeats then lead to a violent split within the organization. In September 1992, Bedri Yagan and two other leading Devrimci Sol cadre "arrested" the group's leader, Dursun Karatas, to question him about several of his leadership mistakes. Later, Karatas would describe this act as a "putsch" and what followed was a bloody internal rift. On April 22, 1993, two Devrimci Sol militants, Ercan Temelli and Muammer Aydin, were killed by Karatas supporters in Istanbul. In Berlin, a meeting was held on April 30 between representatives of the PKK, the TKP/ML, TKP/ML-Hareketi, TKEP, and both factions of Devrimci Sol. Most of the participants criticized the Karatas faction, but they called on both sides to refrain from violence. But the very next day, on May 1, Ercan Sakar who was shot and killed by Karatas supporters outside the 'Halk Evi' community centre. And back in Turkey, on June 21, Karatas supporters burned down the offices of the newspaper 'Devrimci Cozum' and 5 workers were shot and injured. As the split progressed, both sides used what they described as "revolutionary violence" against the other side. But now, the issue appears to have been settled - by force. Devrimci Sol is now known as the DHKP-C, and its leader is Dursun Karatas.



The Turkish revolutionary left organization Devrimci Sol transformed itself into a party in 1994. Now known as the Revolutionary Peoples Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C), one of the group's first actions was the September 29, 1994 assassination of Mehmet Topac, who had served as Turkey's justice minister from 1988-89. Police arrested four men and one woman in connection with this attack. DHKP-C units have also been active regions of Turkish-occupied Kurdistan where the PKK is predominant. In Diyarbakir, for example, 4 militants died in a shootout with police in the city of Diyarbakir. DHKP-C units, as well as

other Turkish communist organizations such as TIKKO, have also been active in resisting Turkish army forces in the Dersim region of Kurdistan.

The DHKP-C also carried out several smaller attacks in support of their jailed leader, Dursun Karatas, who was detained by French officials along with two other people on September 9, 1994 at the Italian border. Turkey sought to have Karatas deported.

Dursun Karatas was originally arrested in Turkey back in 1980 after the right-wing military coup, and he and more than 1,200 other Devrimci Sol militants were on trial for more than a decade in

Turkey. Karatas escaped from prison in 1989, however, before he was sentenced to a death; this was later changed to life in prison. If deported by France, Karatas would have faced certain prison and perhaps even death. But France released Karatas from police custody at the beginning of February 1995, on the condition that he remain in France and report regularly to police. But Karatas has since gone underground once again. The DHKP Central Committee released a communique claiming that the release of Dursun Karatas was a victory in the "war against imperialism".

## No One Who Has Committed Crimes Against Our People And Our Movement Will Be Forgiven!

Devrimci Sol continues its march on the road towards revolution by applying peoples' revolutionary justice. Again the organisation reminds us that no crime will remain without punishment. On September 26 of 1994, Devrimci Sol fighters punished a remaining putschist with the penalty of death. This was a payment for his crimes against the revolutionary movement. Hakan Acar was a member of the traitor-gang which declared a war against Devrimci Sol. Devrimci Sol warned them several times: They should surrender to the justice of the revolutionary movement. Despite all warnings they increased their efforts to liquidate and destroy the values of the revolutionary movement, this under guidance of the contra-guerrilla. Hakan Acar was taken under detention and questioned by the fighters of Devrimci Sol. He confessed his crimes and his collaboration. Finally he was sentenced to death and executed.

### Gunfight In Dersim

On September 3 and 4, a gunfight took place in Dersim between guerrillas of Devrimci Sol and State Military Forces. The guerrillas of the Hayri Koc-platoon were ambushed by state forces. In the following gunfight, five fighters for the liberation of the people died. During the gunfight fourteen soldiers were punished by the guerrillas, seven of them died.

As reported, the fighters of Hayri Koc-platoon were ambushed by means of informers living in the Ulukale-village. In the evening of September 19, guerrillas launched a raid on the village and called out seven informers by reading their names aloud one by one. They had given information to the enemy. Therefore they were punished to death under the eyes of the villagers. Their houses were burned because of

their crimes. Our Martyrs were the following:

**Aydemir Sahin** (1970 - September 3-4, 1994)  
Commander of the guerrilla group. Born in Hekimhan, son of a poor Turkish family.

**Nurhan Azak** (1974 - September 3-4, 1994)  
Guerrilla in the Hayri Koc-platoon. She was a daughter from a Kurdish-Alevit family. Born in Pertek, Dersim.

**Asuman Koc** (1971 - September 3-4, 1994)  
Guerrilla in the platoon, named after her uncle. She was a daughter from a Kurdish-Alevit family. Born in Cemisgezdek, Dersim.

**Hulya Ates** (1977 - September 3-4, 1994)  
Guerrilla in the Hayri Koc-platoon. She was a daughter from a Kurdish-Alevit family. Born in Hozat, Dersim.

**Orhan Korkurt** (1974 - September 3-4, 1994)  
Guerrilla in the Hayri Koc-platoon. She was a daughter from a Kurdish-Alevit family. Born in Kahramanmaraş.

They fell while fighting until the last bullet. We asked for an accounting and have eliminated the informers and contra-guerrilla and we will...

**He Was A Pioneer Of The New Generation Who Committed His Life To Revolution And Liberation**

Bedii Cengiz, a fighter of Devrimci Sol, fell by mischance. He was preparing for a revolutionary

action but his weapon accidentally went off and he seriously injured himself. During his last two hours he was alone. He did not hesitate to, with his blood, write the name of Devrimci Sol on a wall of the basement where he spent his last hours. He was born in Kazanlı village in Mersin in 1960 as a son of an Arab Alevit family. He took part in revolutionary activities in 1975. His revolutionary life was full of dignity and of militancy while organising the resistance. After the fascist coup of September 12, 1980 he was arrested. He had been in prison for eleven years. He always was in the forefront of the revolutionary resistance in prison. He was self-sacrificing and never hesitated to criticise those who deserved it. He fulfilled his revolutionary tasks inside the revolutionary workers movement and in the ghettos. He carried out all of his revolutionary tasks as a member of Devrimci Sol. He was one of the nameless fighters of our peoples' liberation war.

We Will Wave Our Flag, Shouting The Slogans Of Our Martyrs! We Will Never Forget The Peoples' Heroes!

### On September 28, 1994, Three Fighters Of Devrimci Sol Were Brutally Killed In Istanbul

Elmas Yalcin was a civil servant, Fuat Erdogan was a lawyer and Ismet Erdogan was a worker.

They were fighting for independence and socialism within the ranks of the revolutionary movement. Civil servants, lawyers and workers knew them very well. A cafe, in which the three Devrimci Sol fighters were sitting was raided by a police unit. Elmas Yalcin, Fuat Erdogan and Ismet Erdogan were murdered by the torturers. All the inhabitants of Besiktas were eyewitnesses to this massacre.



# Statement Concerning The Attack On The CDU Office In Düsseldorf

On the night of June 4/5, 1994, one week before the elections for the European parliament, we deposited four explosive devices behind the building complex at Kaiserswertherstrasse 93 in Düsseldorf. This building houses, among others, the offices of the CDU [christian democratic party - trans.] in Düsseldorf as well as the CDU regional office for "Bergisches land" (Solingen, Wuppertal, etc.). We chose this site because of the minimal risk to uninvolved persons. By means of this action, we want to start an open discussion concerning the CDU and the politics represented by this party.

Whether in Palestine or Kurdistan or Turkey, the German state, led by the CDU, is at war. Germany, as an important imperialist state, is on the side of the ruling powers in those areas. The struggle being carried out by militant comrades, who are not willing to accept the status quo, is a struggle for freedom and socialism.

*"From now on, our stance against the PKK will be even tougher. The PKK should know that they cannot move freely anywhere now."*  
(Kanter, CDU, interior minister, March 20, 1994)

This statement from Kanther increased the resolve of two Kurds living in Mannheim, Nilgun Yildirim and Bedriye Tas, as they themselves stated, who burned themselves to death in protest against the German state on March 21 (Newroz). In the statement they left behind, Nilgun and Bedriye make mention of German weapons sales to the ruling Demirel/Çiller [Turkish government leaders - trans.] clique. There has been a lot of debate recently concerning these weapons shipments, but the facts speak for themselves: Under the terms of three material aid agreements (1990-1994), 100 Leopard-1s, 300 BRT-60s, 30 Phantoms, 131 artillery systems, and 187 MTW M-113s have been delivered. Between 1985-1991, the German state donated 256,000 Kalaschnikovs, 5000 MGs, 100,000 tank shells, and 445 million rounds of ammunition. On April 7, the government enacted a temporary halt of arms shipments to Turkey, but this ban was lifted again on May 4. And this ban did not prevent the Dornier corporation from shipping 212 Stinger missiles on April 15. To make the military dimension, by which the imperialist states arm their vassal allies, perfectly clear, in 1993, the USA gave Turkey 932 tanks, and Germany shipped an additional 85. In other words, in the space of one year, Turkey was given enough tanks to equal the number presently possessed by Great Britain. At present, 500,000 soldiers and 50,000 militias (so-called village guards) are stationed in 13 provinces (the state of emergency region) to carry out a war against the Kurdish liberation struggle. The war against militants there and the repression here are closely linked: On November 26, 1993, Kanther (CDU) "banned" the PKK and other Kurdish organizations; at the end of March alone, 547 Kurds were arrested in Germany; while chancellor Kohl (CDU) described the Kurdish Autobahn blockades as "unbearable misuse of guest rights", deportation orders were signed and carried out step by step. The raid by a police commando, including GSG-9 agents, in

Saarbrücken last week is a clear sign of the course which is presently being followed. On March 7, after a trial lasting more than 4 years in the court bunker in Düsseldorf, a verdict was handed down: Both Kurds, Ali Aktas and Hasan Hayri Güller, were given life sentences. On April 12, a trial began in Munich against 13 Kurds who occupied the Turkish consulate on June 24, 1993. By means of this action, the Kurds had hoped to force Kohl (CDU) to publicly declare an end to weapons shipments to Turkey. The Kurdish militants have acted according to their conviction that "resistance is life - berxwedan jiyane".

*"Turkey is the only existing model of a democratic, free-market, muslim state."*  
(Lamers, CDU, parliamentary foreigner affairs spokesman)

Germany is also a party in the war against the Turkish communist resistance that has been waged since 1982. Already in 1983, Devrimci Sol was banned, and militants and activists that have sought political asylum in Germany have often been deported. In order to avoid being handed over to the fascist military junta (that seized power in a putsch on September 12, 1980), Cermal Altun, one of the founders of "Ankara Liseli Devrimci Gençlik", threw himself out of a window in a Berlin courthouse on August 30, 1983, and died later from his injuries.

*"Deportations to Turkey are something that happen hundreds of times each year in Germany. It's a normal part of our laws dealing with foreigners."*  
(Kanter, CDU, in parliament)

The BND [German intelligence agency - trans.] and the Turkish secret police (MIT) work in close cooperation, thus making the immediate arrest of deported persons at Turkish airports possible. And the MIT can even make "arrests" in Germany: For ex-

ample, 4 Devrimci Sol militants were kidnapped in Germany and taken to Ankara in 1986. Torture in Turkish prisons has been well documented. And this torture continues in the courtroom: 7 Devrimci Sol prisoners were beaten up in a courtroom in Istanbul because a May 1st banner was unfurled; another 5 Devrimci Sol prisoners were beaten with clubs in the courtroom in Kayseri. The Turkish security forces, armed and trained by Germans, have shot and killed several Devrimci Sol militants during arrest operations over the past few years. We particularly want to make mention of the raid on a house on March 6, 1993, during which Bedriye Yagan and Gurcan Özgür, who made important contributions to the further development of communist resistance in Turkey, were killed.

Corporations like HDW, Thyssen, MTU, Krupp, MAN, Krauss Maffei, Heckler & Koch, Rohde-Schwarz, Dornier, and others make profits from arms sales to Turkey. In the political arena, it is the duty of the CDU to press forward the interests of these corporations. On May 30, the federal government wrote a letter to the business group BDI, insuring them that restrictions on arms sales to countries outside of NATO would soon be eased. For a corporation like Daimler, who commented on the sale of Unimogs to the Sudan (where two million refugees are continually threatened with death through famine) with the words "the deal went through perfectly", the common interests of major German corporations and the CDU politicians are solidified through personal contacts and consultations. For example, von Wartenberg (BDI executive) and Schoser (DIHT executive) are part of Kohl's election team. Stihl, Necker, and Murmann make no secret of the fact that they hope that the government's present course is further pushed through during the next legislative period.

The centralized command structure of the CDU and of economics in Germany makes it easier for party and corporation politics to be coordinated. The

photo

Text for photo

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power-center of the CDU is Kohl and his team of advisors, the so-called breakfast club (Ackermann, Bohl, Pfeiffer, Ludewig). The power-center of the German

economy is the 13-man executive board of the Deutsche Bank, to which more than 100 supervisory boards of the most important corporations are linked. The majors banks are well served by the politics of the CDU/CSU/FDP government. With profits of more than 2.2 billion DM, the Bank has more than enough reason to feel pleased (which is why the 50 million DM debt which Mr. Schneider had to write off is just "peanuts", as he himself stated at a press conference).

Of course the major corporations, who are the backbone of Germany, don't just support one party, but rather they finance the politics of all the major parties, CDU/CSU/FDP/SPD, who are actually little different from one another. For example, the biggest single contributors in 1992 (ca. 500,000 DM for each party) were: for the CDU it was the Daimler corporation, for the CSU [CDU-allied party in Bavaria - trans.] it was Bavarian metal industry, for the FDP [liberal party - trans.] it was the North Rhein-Westphalia metal industry, and for the SPD [social democratic party - trans.] it was also Daimler. But no matter how hard Scharping [SPD leader - trans.] tries to lure the wealthy to his side, the commanders of the economic sector share the neutral position of Kinkel [FDP leader - trans.]: "When the SPD just presents itself as the CDU with a red veneer, why shouldn't we just stick with the original?"

*"As someone who was raised in the country, I can say that what you plant in the spring will be harvested in October."*

(Kohl, CDU, in the garden of the Germany embassy to the Vatican, May 3, 1994)

Kohl bases his optimism [for the October 16 general election - trans.], with good reason, on the prognosis that the German economy will have expanded by 1.5% in 1994. In particular, foreign demands have led to increased profits. When, for example, the Bayer corporation reports "increasing profits, 2000 jobs phased out", the one enhances the other. Daimler stocks are now being traded on the Singapore market, the Dresdner Bank wants to open up branches in Mexico and Poland, etc. In other words, the international expansion of banks and corporations is continuing nicely. After having expanded into the ex-DDR (where 85% of all capital is in the hands of West German corporations), Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic) is the next region to move into. At the same time, 12 years of CDU rule have led to social polarization: At present there are 8 million people (including those in re-schooling programs) out of work, 2.2 million children live in poverty, and at least 2.5 million new homes are needed. Work place reconstruction has led to the following: This year alone, 100,000 machinery jobs will be lost, as will 30,000 in the electronics industry and 23,000 in the steel industry, and so on. The CDU government is furthering these developments through its privatization program (another 35,000 railway jobs will be cut this year) and is expecting the number of unemployed to grow by at least 500,000 by the end of 1994. Around 60% of the population are worried about the present situation in Germany, particularly regarding uncertain employment, and a majority of the German population has a lot, on a global scale, to lose in all of this. The workers in the steel industry are,

## Bomb Detonated In Front Of FDP Office In Bremen

Just one week before the "National Unity Festival" scheduled to be held in Bremen on October 3, 1994, to celebrate four years of German reunification, police detonated an explosive device which was discovered outside an office of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) in Bremen. The detonation blew out the windows of several surrounding buildings. The FDP party, headed by foreign affairs minister and former interior minister Klaus Kinkel, is the centrist coalition partner of German chancellor Helmut Kohl's conservative CDU party.

The September 26 attack in Bremen was claimed by the Anti-Imperialist Resistance Cell "Nadia Shehadah". In a seven-page communique delivered to the liberal newspaper *taz*, the Nadia

Shehadah cell, which bombed a CDU office in Dusseldorf in June one week before the European elections, expressed solidarity with the RAF political prisoners collective as well as with the imprisoned anti-fascists in Berlin whose trial for the 1992 death of fascist leader Gerhard Kaindl opened on September 20. The communique also spells out an extensive critique of the politics of the FDP, just as the June communique analyzed the politics of the CDU.

One day before the Bremen attack, on September 25, a CDU office in the town of Siegburg was attacked. Four offices belonging to CDU politicians were destroyed by fire in the attack, which was claimed by the "Barbara Kistler" cell.

thanks to the situation with the corporation Eko-Stahl, getting first-hand experience at how big capitalists can eliminate an entire industrial region if they feel like it: In 1989, there were 11,000 jobs, now there are only 3000. First Krupp refused to take the firm over, now Riva is also refusing. Ever since the CDU first came to power in Dusseldorf in 1949, nothing has changed in the way this party mobilizes the large sectors of the population in the interest of the capitalist elite. Unlike the FDP, which openly characterizes itself as a party of the elite and thereby always gets at least 5% of the vote [the minimum required for representation in parliament - trans.], the CDU is supposed to be a "people's party" whose voter potential reaches well outside its own regular clientel (businessmen, self-employed persons).

*"The facts surrounding the anti-terror action in Bad Kleinen have been cleared up, we introduced anti-crime legislation in 1994, we have worked out a concept for the BKA [federal crime bureau - trans.] and the BGS [federal border protection agency - trans.], the asylum-problem has improved, the violent PKK has been banned, and the program for internal security has been approved. That's how I want to work."*

(Kanter, CDU, in an interview at the end of April)

To those people in Germany who have a lot to lose, and they are the majority, the CDU presents itself as a party of internal and external security. For internal matters, that means full prisons, more cops, more cops on the street, honorary cops, a lessening of the separation between the police and the intelligence agencies, etc. The new police bill introduced in Saxony, "the best and most modern one in all of Germany" (Kanter), calls for 14-day internment and eased restrictions on telephone tapping. Private guard and security services are the ones that profit most of all from all of this security hysteria: 280,000 of these security people are "protecting" cars, subways, airports, etc. External security politics for the CDU ["Safe into the future!" European election slogan - trans.] means not only developing the Eurofighter 2000, but also purchasing it for 102 million DM (Ruehe, CDU, wants 140 of these jets). The wall of security around the countries of the West European Union is a reality since May 5 (cutting off Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and the three Baltic states). Previous associations with Norway,

Iceland, and Turkey are being re-evaluated. All is quiet for the time being, because there are not enough provisions for the 50,000 soldiers who will make up the quick-reaction force, which will intervene in actions like the one in Somalia, because "until now, these were designed for action in Central Europe and they are not adequate to meet the demands of, for example, desert regions."

*"We Germans are, at the present time, once again being made into a fated society."*

(Herzog, CDU, German president, in a magazine interview)

Since 1979, the CDU has always been the party which has filled the office of federal president [a significant albeit ceremonial post - trans.]. Richard von Weizaecker (CDU) was especially esteemed by a majority of the German population. From 1958-1962, he was a banker in Dusseldorf and Essen before moving to the chemical corporation Boehringer in Ingelheim. Weizaecker was the number-two man in this corporation, which made its profits by selling dioxins to Dow Chemical for its Agent Orange production during the Vietnam War. At the same time (1964-1970), he was president of the "German Evangelical Church Days". Because he was so apt at joining one thing to another, he was predestined for the post of German president. And this is just what he did from 1984-1994: For thousands of people across the globe, he praised the murderous imperialist business practices of the great power Germany in his polite and refined christian way of speaking. On May 25 of this year, Roman Herzog (CDU) was sworn in as his successor in the Reichstag during a 2.5 million DM ceremony. Herzog's career is closely tied to that of the Nazi Maunz, with whom he studied and with who he issued the "Maunz-Dürig-Herzog" commentary on the German constitution. Maunz makes no secret of the fact that he often gave judicial advice to the leader of the fascist DVU party Frey. So it's no surprise that Frey's newspaper "Nationalzeitung" wrote in 1982 that it's impossible to imagine "a more honorable person than Dr. Herzog to serve at the head of Germany's highest court". In 1987, Herzog became head of Germany's constitutional court, and even before his election as president, he stated in an interview with the magazine Focus that he supports a form of politics which would have pleased his deceased friend Maunz: Focus: "The preamble of the German constitution speaks about the German people





("das Deutsche Volk")... Herzog: "The Weimar constitution phrased it even better: The German people, united in its roots... Those people that don't wish to

become German should be allowed an adequate amount of time to make up their minds. In the end, if they decide against taking up German citizenship, then we should say to them: We expect you to go back to that country which you consider to be your home."

This Herzog-variation of "Foreigners out!" ("Ausländer raus!") is to be seen against the backdrop of the development of CDU politics over the past 5 years: In 1989, the social polarization as a result of 7 years of CDU politics was extreme; while the so-called revolutionary left was more concerned with itself than it was with the development of a fundamental systemic anti-capitalist alternative, fascist groups shouted their racist "solution" to the problems of unemployment and a lack of housing: "Ausländer raus!" This fascist mobilization was successful: The Republikaner won 7.5% of the vote in Berlin in January 1989 and 7.1% during the European elections in June 1989. During their party conference in Bremen in September 1989, the CDU drew the necessary conclusions: Instead of the solution offered by Lummer (CDU), who proposed a coalition with the Republikaner, a decision was made to make Republikaner voters feel at home in the CDU by forcing through anti-foreigner politics. Geissler was replaced as the party's general secretary by Rühle, and Rühle got all the local CDU organizations to take up anti-immigrant policies step by step, thus clearing a path for the changing of Article 16 [the guaranteed right to asylum - trans.] in the German constitution. After November 9, 1989, the CDU made an offensive to present itself as a truly national party, thus leading to election success in the ecstatic year 1990. In 1992, camps were set up all across Germany where refugees were to be put during their first three months of residency. Rühle's campaign was tremendously successful: He achieved a sort of division of labor between the racists on the streets (Hoyerswerda, Rostock, etc.) and CDU party politics. By means of a self-fulfilling prophecy, "so that things don't get even worse", the CDU was able to abolish the right to asylum in Germany. It's no surprise that the vote to

change the constitution and the fascist firebombing in Solingen took place during the same week in May 1993.

*"The present levels of immigration exceed that which a population can successfully integrate."* (Olderog, CDU, during the parliamentary debate regarding the racist pogrom in Magdeburg on May 12, 1994)

Since November 1, 1993, the CDU has pushed through another extremely racist piece of legislation, namely the "Refugee Service Law". Now, refugees receive only 80% the level of subsistence welfare payments given out to Germans, and even this is paid out in the form of humiliating food packets or vouchers. The levels of deportation have greatly increased since Germany's constitution was changed. The Berlin interior minister Heckelmann (CDU) reported a six-fold increase in January 1994. On May 1, the first step was taken towards Germany's biggest-ever deportation action: 100,000 Croatian refugees are to be sent back home, a move which the Croatian government has used to justify its deportation of 200,000 Muslim refugees back to Bosnia.

*"We Germans need to once again feel ourselves to be one nation."* (Schauble, CDU)

Schauble, the present leader of the CDU/CSU parliamentary fraction, is practically the number-two man in the party, and he is already preparing himself for the post-Kohl era. At the Berlin party conference in 1993, he gave a hint at its direction with his notions of a "protected and fated German society" and "our German fatherland": The CDU as the party of German imperialism for the 1990s. The party delegates welcomed this ideological direction, and they rewarded him with standing ovations. With this direction, Schauble is not only reaching out to Republikaner voters, but he is also securing an ideological course which will hold together the party's own 700,000 members after Kohl is gone. Schauble accepted his position as key negotiator, first with the last DDR government (the reunification agreement) and then with the SPD (changing the asylum clause in the constitution). But he is not only a pragmatic power-

Startbahn-West

On Sunday May 1, 1994, approximately 200 autonomists carried out an impressive action at Startbahn-West, Runway 18 at Frankfurt's Rhein/Main airport.

Two gates of the perimeter fence were forced open and barricades were erected on the roadways inside the perimeter to prevent police vehicles from approaching. On the runway itself, control panels for the lighting system were set on fire and observation huts were torn down. No police arrived on the scene for at least 45 minutes, thus allowing ample time for other cables and equipment to be destroyed. Flight traffic was interrupted for half an hour. When airport security and Frankfurt police forces finally came to intervene, masked activists attacked them with stones and steel ball-bearings fired from slingshots. The five damaged police vans then retreated, thus allowing all of the activists to escape into the surrounding woods.

Startbahn-West, which officially opened in 1984, was the focal-point of a broad-based resistance campaign by environmental, anti-NATO, and left-wing autonomist groups throughout the Rhein/Main area in the 1980s. Several violent demonstrations and blockades were held at the site, although the anti-Starbahn movement largely died out after the massive wave of repression which followed the shooting-deaths of two policemen during a militant demonstration on November 2, 1987.

politician, but rather he is also one of the few CDU leaders who can effectively articulate the party's ideology.

That is made clear in his 256-page book "Und der Zukunft zugewandt", which is a mixture of bland capitalist political demands (for example, more daily hours of machine production) and reactionary-fascist proposals (he writes that the German (!) family is the foundation of the German state, and he hopes to reverse the declining birth-rate of the German (!) population, something which he describes as an "active form of constitutional protection" for the German state).

Attack the CDU in those areas where the party has its decentralized bases of operation, the regional and local offices!

*"Many different forms of armed actions and militancy will simply take place in various political and social confrontations. It doesn't matter what the RAF or the prisoners say."* (Helmut Pohl, RAF-prisoner, August 1993)

Stop the state witness trial against Heidi Schulz which began on May 25!

Greetings and solidarity to Fatma, Mehmet, and Abidin!

We have nothing to lose. Struggle together!

Anti-Imperialist Resistance Cell  
"Nadia Shehadah"

## Corsican Guerrilla Offers To Limit Its Attacks

The Corsican guerrilla movement FLNC (Front de Liberation Nationale de la Corse) announced a limited ceasefire in November 1994. A group calling itself the FLNC Canal Historique sent a communique to France's interior minister, Charles Pasqua, stating that the group planned to "completely cease all military actions on French territory" and that there would be no more attacks on "functionaries and citizens of France". Actions against "real estate speculators and the drug trade" would continue, however. A few days after the statement was released, a group of masked guerrillas stormed a vacation settlement in Lumio near Calvi on the north of the island and blew up several expensive vacation homes, a favourite action of the FLNC.

In return for limited guerrilla attacks, the FLNC Canal Historique has demanded that the French government display a genuine "interest in institutional reform" and that all FLNC political prisoners be released. Although Pasqua has hinted that the French

were "thinking about" Corsica's institutional status, he has rejected the demand to free the prisoners.

The Corsican independence movement reached a peak in popular support in 1992, when separatists won 25% of the vote during regional elections. But when French mainstream parties began taking up the theme of Corsican "identity", the guerrilla movement splintered. A group called the Canal Habituel began to argue for more autonomy for the island, whereas the Canal Historique held onto a firm independence line and has continued its armed struggle.

Despite the November 1994 communique, attacks against capitalist property on Corsica have continued. On February 1, 1995, an FLNC guerrilla unit pulled up on the beach at a vacation settlement on Cavallo Island, also known as "Billionaires' Island". The guerrillas deposited four 77-pound explosive devices which wrecked at least two wealthy homes and one bar. No one was injured in the attack.



# Rote Zora Communique

## Against Immigration Profiteers!

Neo-nazi marches, attacks, and murders are once again daily events here in Germany, as is the public political ritual of disgust and pity which follow. The backgrounds of events like Solingen clearly show that racist mobilizations are not merely tolerated by the state and the cops, not only are they called for and desired, but rather even their culmination - murder - is no accident: In Solingen, a neonazi gang of murderers was built up, activated, and shielded from persecution with the aid of a state agent. Five Turkish women and girls died as a result. → Racist mobilizations are utilized as justifications for new foreigner and immigration policies. Against the background of attacks on refugees, a mood is created which makes possible any sort of inhumane treatment of refugees.

By means of hungerstrikes, demonstrations, visits to state agencies, and refusing to accept food packets, or by throwing them out the window, women and men refugees have protested against their being shut out of the welfare system and instead supplied with food packets. [Asylum seekers used to be paid monthly cash allowances, with which they could shop and buy food for themselves, but now they are only given food packets instead of money. - trans.] While back in their home countries, their means of living were stolen from them, here they must fight against further destruction through racist special treatment. They are struggling against the new special legislation which took effect on November 1, 1993, which labelled them as people of "lower quality" and which denies them a right to a humane existence. For the first time ever in German post-war history, an entire group of people (women, children, and men refugees without German passports) have been singled-out and excluded from the so-called existence-level minimum welfare income standard.

→ On German soil, the refugees are placed in camps surrounded by walls, fences, and security guards, where they must live in cramped spaces under miserable conditions. Having fled from countries in eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia, away from nationalist and racist wars and power struggles, from destruction and a lack of a future as a result of the collapse of their social structures, here they are branded as economic refugees and excess population and are regulated by special legislation. The state immigration policies in the refugees' countries of origin are managed and designed by the wealthy metropolitan regimes and banks so as to push through their patriarchal "New World Order". The people in the impoverished countries of this world have for years been defined as "excess population" by the ruling powers ("global population crisis", "population explosion", etc.).

Those people that actually succeed in making it here are confronted with the same politics and ideology.

The special legislation is designed to scare refugees out of even trying to come here and to make those that do come have as unbearable a stay as possible. Also, deportations are to be made as frictionless as possible so that they can be "carried out". After refugees fleeing from the war in Bosnia were only allowed into Germany when private individuals were willing to finance their stay, the so-called Refugee Service Law for newly-arriving refugees set

the standard for welfare assistance. This law established a humiliating system of "services" (vouchers, second-hand clothes, forced cleanings...). This absence of cash payment is especially difficult in a world where all life activities and the fulfillment of needs are coupled with money. It makes it impossible for the refugees to take care of themselves, to live in a manner they are accustomed to, to make contacts and discuss their social life with one another, and therefore it hands them over to the racist arbitrariness of bureaucrats. It prevents the exchange of experiences and advice with others, and lawyers no longer receive payment, therefore virtually abolishing any judicial outlets which the refugees may have had.

Medical care has also been drastically reduced. Only acute, life-threatening, and contagious sicknesses are treated, but not chronic illnesses or the



long-term effects of malnutrition, torture, war injuries, or (sexual) violence. Who and what are to be treated is up to the arbitrary desires of the bureaucrats. A lack of cash payment is coupled with compulsory labor at 2 DM per hour, and refusal to do this work can result in the loss of the ridiculous monthly allowance payment (40 DM per child and 80 DM per adult) - and all of this is coupled with the never-ending prospect of deportation.

Anyone who manages to stay for more than three months is no longer prevented from seeking work. However, only the worst and lowest paying jobs, ones which western Europeans won't take, are available to refugees.

Because of the hopelessness of this right to stay provided for in the new (unjust) asylum law, many more refugees, including entire families, are going into illegality. That means an even more insecure existence, hunger, and the need for housing. To be able to live here, many women have no other choice but to hand themselves over to illegal sex traders.

One success which the refugee women and men have achieved is that, for example, Cologne is now once again handing out the reduced welfare payments, and Freiburg is as well, at least to those refugees that have been in Germany for at least a year.

Some cities and towns are willing to make compromises, partly because providing other services means dealing with loads of red tape and bureaucratic organization. For this reason, Hamburg, Kassel, and many other cities refused to adopt the service proposal. Because the inhumane treatment

of refugees is a matter of political interest, a new proposal has since been introduced by Birzele (interior minister of the province Baden-Wurtemberg - trans.) which would extend the service legislation principle to ALL refugees, regardless of how long they have been in Germany. This must be prevented!!!

For resourceful businesses, the delivery of food packets can mean a new market and high profits. The market value of these packets is well below what the city officials pay for them. Costs for packaging, transportation, etc. are passed on to the refugees. Therefore, the refugees actually only receive about 50% of the social welfare they are entitled to.

Profits can also be increased by sacrificing the quality of the food provided. Old and spoiled food, which can no longer be sold in stores, gets put into the refugees' packets. When the refugees refuse to eat this garbage, the good Germans call them ungrateful.

In the business of providing food products to women, children, and men refugees, the entrepreneur Herbert Weigl from Bavaria is the main profiteer who cashes in big from the state's refugee policies: Weigl's business in Nurnberg secured a monopoly on providing meals and accommodations for refugees in Bavaria and for refugees in many other provinces as well. In order to maximize his profits, Weigl produces cheap fruit and vegetables in the ex-DDR through a sub-corporation known as MEIGO. MEIGO (situated near Gera and in Berlin) primarily provides for refugees in Saxony, Thuringen, Brandenburg, and Berlin, but also in West German provinces as well, such as in North Rhein-Westphalia. At present, Weigl/MEIGO are earning profits from approximately 20,000 refugees, who (according to a Monitor report published in March 1994) receive compulsory services. Weigl's meat business in Hirschfeld in Bavaria delivers meat that has sometimes turned green to refugees, while another sub-corporation, OGEVA in Leipzig, provides the canned foods for the food packets, and the firm CANTOP in Eisenhutenstadt provides the metal packaging.

Food packets are humiliating and demoralizing for refugee women, children, and men. And their degrading housing conditions in hostels and camps (segregated from the rest of the population by means of fences and guards, entering and exiting controls, visits only from camp personnel...) leaves them with no other choice but to eat what they are given. Their last hope for self-care and self-responsibility is thereby destroyed.

The practice of food distribution in refugee hostels and camps is a form of compulsory service, like those here in psychiatric institutions and prisons. Alienation and targeted humiliation are designed to prevent self-responsible and self-consciousness action, to reduce social experiences to a minimum so as to break resistance and to command obedience. The German speciality of "perfect" management is forever trying to "transform" people into dependent and bureaucratically controllable masses, on whom human degradations can be easily performed. And yet refugee women and men have made things difficult for the typewriter bastards and the greedy businessmen!

Food preparation and eating take place in a social context. That which we eat, who prepares it



and how they prepare it, where and how we eat it, all of these things are connected to our habits, traditions, social structures, etc., with the division of labor by gender

on the one hand, and social and technological destruction, alienation, and dispossession on the other.

In most societies in the world, patriarchy ensures that women take care of the reproduction of the (men in the) family, or frequently they take care of children without a man, in other words, they do the work and are responsible for it.

The special legislation is not gender neutral. The introduction of the so-called Refugee Service Law is especially directed against refugee women.

Less-valued compulsory services consciously make caring for the family more difficult, it is a burden for the women, and it makes female reproductive work in the forced camp conditions a familiar additional labor and a depressing task for women with children.

Pre-cooked foods and food packets are also a form of cultural submission and is part of the dispossession and destruction of traditional female life and reproduction activities, and thereby also of the self-knowledge and self-consciousness of women. It prevents a form of host friendship which is usually taken for granted, and it no longer makes possible the communication and social interaction which takes place at a common meal.

The special legislation supports the maintenance and renewal of patriarchal violence relations. Because of conditions in the camps, women become even more dependent, both on their men as well as on the racist institutions (the immigration bureaucracy) and their representatives. Male aggression is directed against women who can no longer carry out their roles of being responsible for food and for the family. Housing conditions, the lack of any place of escape for women, the loss of female friendships and relationships... these make the situation for women just about unbearable.

Sexual attacks, intimidation, threats, and rapes by staff and other hostel inhabitants are part of everyday life. And problems with language and services further increase the women's isolation; it's not even possible to go shopping for food, thus making it difficult to invite people over or to hold a party. It's easier for the men to find other means of earning money, because they contend that public life is their sphere and thus they can move about freely, without any responsibilities in the reproductive sphere. Only the very worst paying jobs like cleaning, prostitution, and begging are available to the women.

The resistance and struggle of women refugees is primarily concerned with the question of social reproduction, the renewal of social relationships, also among the women themselves, which get largely destroyed due to the conditions of flight and camp life, a struggle which is beyond the criteria of usefulness and sexual availability, violent beatings and subordination, a struggle for life and a humane existence.

State refugee policies, which were ushered in by the never-ending wave of pogroms against immigrants and attacks on homeless people, handicapped people, etc., are another step along the path of German post-war history into the realm of previously unknown social polarization.

It's power is derived from racist, sexist, and social attacks, the renewed capitalist patriarchy makes the usefulness of people the standard of measurement for their right to exist and declares those people that are not useful, even those in the metropolises, to be excess population whose right to exist is then openly questioned. Then it becomes justified for these people to receive "special treatment".

The special legislation enacted against refugees is part of a continuity of a general form of politics which singles out the elderly, handicapped people, the sick, and the poor.

For one thing, this forces adaption and subordination to sharpened conditions of exploitation: rising unemployment and poverty, thereby allowing the expansion and legalization of the so-called second labor market (rotten pay without any social security or protection from lay-offs). These conditions especially effect immigrants as well as women with German citizenship. At the same time, the illegal ("third") labor market is expanded, which is the only realm of employment available for illegal immigrants living here (expanding prostitution and women-trading from eastern Europe, cleaning jobs and black-market commerce, etc.).

While the patriarchal structures renew themselves and secure an even better foundation, women are becoming increasingly confronted with sexual violence and exploitation. The high level of unemployment among women, particularly in the ex-DDR, forces women into harmful exploitative relations with sexual harassment in the workplace and a strong economic dependence on men. And men are increasingly becoming organized to counteract attacks against sexual violence carried out by the women/lesbian movement - for example, "abuse of abuse", etc.

The threat to the existence (hence their status as "excess population") of illegals, war refugees, and newly-arriving asylum seekers can be directly converted into an expansion of the second and third labor markets, which can be greatly exploited, something which the ruling powers welcome. They function as "dregs" for attacks on the wage system in general, thus allowing the ruling powers to once again stabilize the German economy's powerful position - and many people welcome this, even so-called "multi-culturalists".

New laws and regulations in the social sector have practically abolished the old welfare and healthcare system, thus effecting the severely ill, handicapped persons, the elderly, drug addicts, and the homeless.

If you don't work, then you can't eat, in other words, those that can, pay, those that can't either shouldn't live or they should at least die faster.

Euthanasia, so-called death assistance, and eugenic measures according to criteria which attach use values to life are now no longer up for discussion, but rather they are being practiced and are in demand.

pre-natal controls for women with the demand that they bring healthy, productive children into the world, and so that they themselves stay "healthy", that is, productive;

- The new laws concerning forced sterilization;
- The murder and neglect of elderly people and people in need of care;
- The discussion around the "right to life" for newborn handicapped babies;
- The establishment of so-called ethics institutes which legitimize these measures...

These are all pieces in the puzzle of population politics, which sort people out according to criteria of "valuable and unvaluable life". Once again a mode of conduct (in)becoming socially acceptable and made into concrete reality, the same one which lead Germany to Auschwitz.

Along with the increase in exploitation and poverty, racist, anti-semitic, and sexist violence and exploitation are on the rise as well. In order to re-establish the patriarchal capitalist power relations, the majority of the white, non-Jewish, German population must be able to take part in social power-sharing (by securing their privileges and allowing them to carry out sexist and racist violence) - they know what they, as whites, as Germans, as men, have to protect.

Both the ruling powers as well as the rank-and-file claim that refugee women and men are the ones responsible for unemployment, the lack of housing, and welfare fraud. This serves to strengthen the right-wing nationalist climate and it secures the re-establishment and re-formation of the social consensus.

By means of a variety of actions - campaigns against internment camps, special legislation, and compulsory services, actions against deportations and deportation prisons, beginning to organize places to flee as well as church asylum, and so on - a minority of the population of this society are trying to break this sexist, racist, and anti-semitic consensus.

Our contribution to this: On the night of June 12/13, we expressed our fiery rage against several trucks belonging to the Weigl/MEIGO corporation in Nurnberg and Meilitz/Gera.

MEIGO, Weigl, and all other profiteers: Stop making money off the plight of refugees!!!

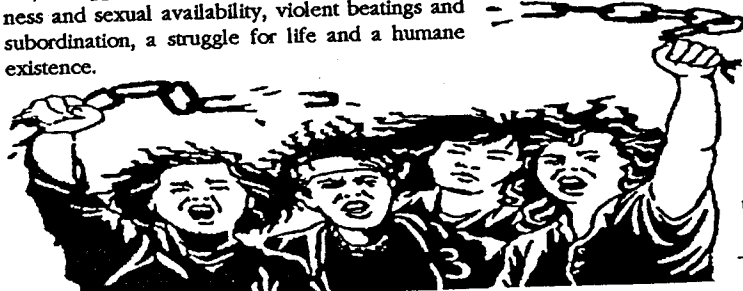
We support the demands of women and men refugees:

- "We want a humane existence!"
- "The abolition of food packets and mass-servicing - full payment of all welfare benefits!"
- "Cash payments, not services!"
- "Against the lack of medical care - for equal medical treatment for all!"
- "Against second-hand clothes - full welfare payments!"
- "Against forced labor - stop forbidding us from seeking normal jobs!"
- "Abolish the racist Refugee Service Law!"
- "Abolish all deportation prisons!"
- "Against the racist deportation measures - a right to stay for all!"

**For the right to exist for all marginalized people, away from patriarchal-capitalist performance and value standards!  
A right to stay for all women, children, and men refugees!**

Rote Zora - June 12, 1994

- The pushing through of





# Revolutionary Organization November 17th

## Commando Theofilos Georgiadis

### Statement Concerning The Attack On The Turkish Diplomat O.H. Sivahioglu

Athens - July 4, 1994

Even those people who only sporadically follow the events taking place in the former Yugoslavia, as reported in the Western media, must surely have noticed that a new technical term, designed for characterizing major crimes, has come into being, one which far surpasses all previous ones. A term, decorated with all the necessary hair-splitting differentials, be they factual, or alleged, or one-sided; the very mention of this term creates a storm of protest in the Western media against those to be held responsible. What we are talking about is national purification or ethnic cleansing: The use of armed force by one nation against another - who just happened to be a minority population living in the same geographic location - with the aim of driving that people out of the shared homeland, either through physical extermination or through the forced necessity of having to vacate the area.

And so we have observed the Western media, which is so fundamentally determined to be watchful of international law as well as the rights of minorities; and we have also seen Western public opinion, which watches Western media with religious devotion, cry out in righteous anger for NATO forces to make a "humanitarian" intervention, or for air strikes to be called in against "Serbian criminals", who are the ones responsible for the "ethnic cleansing" against the Moslems in Bosnia.

But they ignore the fact that what they are accusing the Serbs of are exactly the same things which Croats and Moslems did against Serbs in Bosnia. We watched as a strict economic embargo was enacted against Serbia as punishment for the "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia. We saw ultimatums, threats of attack, and air strikes be called off at just the last minute.

And while all this was taking place in Bosnia, the same thing has been going on for 20 years in another place, not so far away, this same crime of "ethnic cleansing", although this hasn't bothered anyone in the West up until now. Everything which is being carried out on Cyprus by Turkish imperialism against the Greek Cypriots certainly fits with the definition of "ethnic cleansing".

#### Cyprus

In 1974, military intervention. The occupation of 1/3 of the territory of Cyprus and the physical destruction of 2,000 Cypriots. 200,000 Greek Cypriots were driven by the Turkish minority, who make up just 18% of the island's population, to settle on the northern part of the island. The settlement of 30,000 colonists from Turkey on Cyprus in order to change the balance of the population. The stationing of strong Turkish military forces in the occupied portions of Cyprus, thus making Greek Cypriots either hostages or on-call refugees.

The West, unlike in Bosnia, took no measures to counter-act this obvious crime of "ethnic cleansing" which Turkish imperialism was committing against the Greek Cypriots. Neither an economic embargo against Turkey, nor an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of Turkish military forces from Cyprus, let alone a military attack. How can some-

thing like that be the case, when every Greek knows that this crime was carried out with the moral, economic, and military support of the USA and the other Western European powers, in so far as they contributed to Turkey's military build-up and let Turkey act as this region's policeman. Parallel to this, they are contributing to another crime of "ethnic cleansing" by Turkish militarism in Turkey itself today, namely in Turkish-occupied Kurdistan.

The Turkish armed forces are waging an open war against the partisans of the National Liberation Front of Kurdistan, which is struggling for the sacred right of self-determination - a right which is guaranteed in the Sevres Accord of 1920, but which the Armenians, who did not resist, lost - and more and more often the Turkish armed forces are employing a "scorched earth" strategy. Hundreds of Kurdish villages have been systematically burned and destroyed, and their occupants either physically exterminated or violently forced to flee into Iraqi Kurdistan; and all of this, as in Cyprus, has as its aim the alteration of the population balance in Turkish-occupied Kurdistan. This "ethnic cleansing", which has drastically increased in intensity recently and which is now bordering on genocide, does not interest people in the West, although now a few scattered voices are starting to ask questions about the suppression of "human rights" in Turkey.

And now, the scandal of the West's silence has taken on a tragic-comedic character, as the West is now calling for the Turkish military forces to help aid Bosnia - peace keeping troops in blue UN helmets. In other words, the same military forces that are carrying out "ethnic cleansing" on Cyprus and in Kurdistan. This one example by itself clearly illustrates the extent of the collapse, the ruin, the spoil, and the political bankruptcy of the present-day praxis of the major Western powers and their "New World Order".

It's not enough that the guilty ones not withdraw their army of occupation, but rather new demands are being placed on that country with the full support of our friends, the USA.

#### The Aegean - Threats - Injuries

The Aegean: air-space violations and threats against the islands of Dodechane and Thrace.

In response to this situation, the only political reply can be an actual independent Greek government, no negotiations with Turkey before they withdraw their occupation forces, and the simultaneous preparation of the defence of Cyprus.

But in contrast to this, the sell-out governments of New Democracy [conservatives - trans.] yesterday and PASOK [social democrats - trans.] today are preparing a new Davos, together with the mafia of the mass-media. That scoundrel Papandreu is ready to hold talks with Turkey regarding any and all questions. A dialogue in which the criminals have a better position, from which they can threaten to occupy all of Cyprus, and thus they force the victims to sign an agreement in the name of "realism".

And as far as the common defence dogma between Greece and Cyprus is concerned, this was just a false alarm designed to ease the minds of clueless PASOK members.

#### Public Opinion

At this time, we will present a short summary of the results of a survey of Cypriot public opinion, which was carried out by the Cypriot Center for Strategic Studies over the course of 10 years. This research clearly shows the gap between the wishes and the conscience of Greek Cypriots and those of their sold-out politicians, both in Greece and on Cyprus itself.

When asked about the remark that the presence of Turkish military forces on Cyprus was a fact as opposed to "not at all" or "not entirely", 67% answered yes in 1992, as opposed to 70% in 1982.

When asked if they felt there was a danger that the entire island might one day be occupied, 58% answered yes in 1992, compared to 48% in 1982!!!

When asked about their level of satisfaction with the support given by Greece, 29% replied that they were little or not at all satisfied in 1982, that level rose to 49% after the Davos conference in 1988, and in 1992, 46% were dissatisfied.

When asked how a strong defence program would influence our negotiating position with Turkey, 67% replied it would have a significant or sufficient influence in 1992, compared to 63% in 1982.

When asked if the state should take more measures to secure our defence, 85% answered yes in 1992, compared to 90% in 1982.

And finally, when asked whether the state should make more financial sacrifices to insure our defence, 76% answered yes in 1992, compared to 89% in 1982.

We decided to execute O.H. Sivahioglu, one of the most significant cadre in Turkey's diplomatic corps. As such, and as a member of Turkey's politico-military machine, whose imperialist politics he represented at the political as well as the diplomatic level, he was partially responsible for the crime of "ethnic cleansing" against the Greek Cypriot community, as well as against the Kurdish people. We will attack other representatives of this politico-military machine, and we will continue to do so until concrete measures are taken by them, at the very least until they cease their criminal practice of "ethnic cleansing" on Cyprus by withdrawing their occupation forces.

We send warm and revolutionary greetings to the partisans of the National Liberation Front of Kurdistan, and we would also like to stress that our actions are not directed against the Turkish people, who are our brothers, but rather they are solely directed against the fascist praxis of the Turkish politico-military machine.

#### Revolutionary Organization November 17 Commando Theofilos Georgiadis

P.S. The Cypriot fighter Theofilos Georgiadis was murdered on March 20, 1994 on the island of Cyprus by members of the Turkish secret police service MIT. He was murdered because he, as a true patriot and internationalist, gave considerable political and material assistance to the struggle of the Kurdish people against fascist Turkish imperialism.



# ANTI-FASCISM IN TORONTO

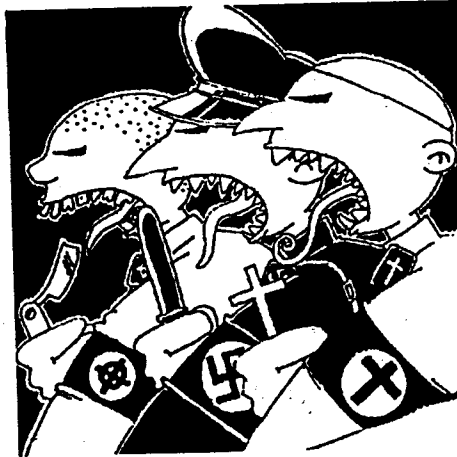
Subtitle

The past year has seen a lot of action on the part of Toronto's Anti-Racist Action (ARA), both in the courts and on the streets. Two separate court battles were waged by ARA throughout the course of the year - and in both cases ARA emerged victorious. On the streets, ARA carried out several demonstrations and campaigns aimed at nazi-owned stores, nazi meetings, as well as against nazi electoral candidates. ARA also took part in anti-Zundel work in conjunction with the Cabbagetown Campaign Against Nazis In Our Neighbourhood (C-CANON). In an important development with far-reaching consequences, 1994 saw a leading Heritage Front member exposed as a Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) operative, in what came to be known as "the Bristow Affair". This fall there have been signs of renewed skinhead activity, with skinheads attacking a demonstration called against the Reform Party in September, and, most recently, a confrontation between fascists and anti-racists which sent several persons to hospital. We were also happy to note that at "Aryan Fest '94", a racist rock concert held outside of Toronto a little earlier in the year, a brawl between nazi skinheads sent three of them to hospital. Thanks for doing our work for us fellas!

The first of the two trials saw 5 persons acquitted of trashing Gary "the voice of the Heritage Front" Schipper's house. Due to the cops being unable to clearly identify who did the damage to the house, and the fact that the cops kept mixing up the defendants, the judge threw out the case. At this trial, it came out that a member of the Toronto Hate Crimes Unit went over to HF leader Wolfgang Droege's house and showed him pictures of local anti-fascists. In the second trial, in July 1994, 8 activists who had been charged with throwing paint and eggs at Zundel's house, as well as with assault and resisting resist, were acquitted after ARA clearly showed that the charges

were the result of police aggression. While the acquittals were victories for ARA and totally showed up the cops, they did take up a lot of ARA's energy, money, and time. It should also be noted that Schipper, Droege, and Ken Barker, who operated the "Equal Rights For Whites" Hotline, did receive prison time ranging from 1 to 3 months for operating their hate lines in defiance of a court order banning their racist messages.

On the streets, ARA was successful in carrying out a series of pickets aimed at two trendy fashion stores run by Alaric Jackson, a well-known local racist. In April 1994, ARA organized a picket at one of Jackson's locations called "IXL", calling on people not to support a nazi front, as evidence has shown that Jackson sells racist records and nazi regalia under the counter. In addition to this, Northern Hammerskins and other racists gathered at IXL in preparation for a celebration of Hitler's birthday. A small contingent of skinheads showed up waving the confederate flag, but



stayed on the opposite side of the street. Then in December 1994, another picket was organized at the second store, called "Reckless". Demonstrators were first treated to a video showing Alaric Jackson speaking at a Heritage Front meeting, and they then marched to the store. Again, racists shook their fists in defiance at ARA, again from far across the street. In January 1995, the "Reckless" location was sold and a sign reading "Clearance - Everything Must Go!" has appeared in the window of "IXL". Rumour has it that Jackson wants to return to the UK.

In another case of nazis doing each other in, James Scott Dawson, a founding member of the Heritage Front, was arrested after he pulled a couple of pistols on Front members George Harbottle and Kim Lyons during an argument. Unfortunately, no shots were fired. Harbottle and Lyons were also arrested after Dawson complained to the cops that they had one of his pistols.

HF members also tried their luck at the polls in 1994, as at least 8 neo-nazis including Droege, Max French, June French, James Brookman, Brenda Kildey, and Lorna Houston ran in local municipal elections. Also running on the Nationalist Party ticket for mayor was previous four-time loser Don Andrews, who predictably lost again. Andrews also proclaimed one week in October to be "European Heritage Week". Three Canadian cities went so far as to support this proclamation, and Buckingham Palace stated in a letter to Andrews that the Queen was "interested to know of your party's proclamation of a European Heritage Week and was glad to know that this initiative has been supported by a number of Canadian cities". Upon finding out that the Nationalist Party was behind the proclamation, all three cities, as well as the Queen, withdrew their support.

Without a doubt, the most damaging beating HF took was the revelation that Grant Bristow, counter-intelligence chief and security co-ordinator for the group, was a paid informant and spy for the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS). Bristow, it turns out, not only helped to start the Heritage Front, but was also responsible for a campaign of harassment aimed at anti-racist activists. While under the direct control of CSIS, Bristow taught skinheads how to break into answering machines and how to harass anti-racists. An HF video clearly shows Bristow offering to train skinheads in harassment techniques. Bristow also helped bring fascists like Tom and John Metzger, Dennis Mahon, and German neo-nazi Ewald Althaus to Toronto and so contributed to strengthening the HF's international connections. Reports show that Bristow was paid \$50,000 by the government for his work - work that led to absolutely no criminal charges against neo-nazis!

Although HF tried to put a positive spin on this news - for example, HF member Gerry Lincoln went on record as stating: "The positive things he did for us outweigh the negative things. I'd like to have 10 more like him." - the fact is that it led to a lot of members leaving the organization. Ken Barker, who at one time ran the "Equal Rights for Whites" hotline, stated in a newspaper interview that he left the HF due to "internal conflict created by the case of Grant Bristow". (The latest rumour is that Barker is now serving a prison term on weapons charges.)

Predictably, a review of Bristow's activities by

## Minneapolis Anti-Fascist's Trial Delayed - Again

Update

Kieran F. Knutson, 23, an anti-fascist activist and member of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, was charged with felony assault for defending himself against a neo-nazi bonehead. The incident happened in October 1993 when a pair of neo-nazis disrupted an anti-fascist rally organized by a progressive student organization on the University of Minnesota campus. The fascist, Dan Simmer, starting swinging at Kieran with a pair of brass knuckles, but was soon stopped with a flashlight blow to the head. Although Simmer was arrested on the spot, his charges were dropped. Several weeks later, however, Kieran was charged with a felony and now faces up to 10 years in prison because of his act of self-defense.

Activists in Minneapolis, Minnesota have organized an excellent defence campaign for Kieran. Before each court appearance, demonstrations have been held, and there have been several coordinated phone-blitz and letter-writing campaigns directed at the office of the over-zealous county

prosecutor, Mike Freeman. On January 27, 1995, about 40 anti-fascists temporarily occupied Mike Freeman's office and demanded a personal meeting, but he still seems determined to put Kieran behind bars. On Monday, January 30, the trial was delayed for the sixth consecutive time. A new trial date has now been set for March 6.

We at ATS encourage everyone to support Kieran. His conviction would be a direct criminalization of the anti-fascist movement. The state does not want people to fight back against fascists, but Kieran should be applauded for his action, not jailed for it.

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the Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC), absolved him of any real wrongdoing. A 200-plus page document released by the committee concluded, for example,

that in the case of the harassment campaign Bristow "did the best he could under the circumstances to transform a situation clearly headed towards violent confrontation by transforming it into a less vicious program" (!) The document, called "The SIRC Report", really ought to have been called "The Shirk Report". At the present time, Bristow's whereabouts are unknown, although rumours are that he is soaking up the sun down in Florida. Interestingly, the HF recently released a video called "The Best of Bristow" which makes it clear that Bristow did more than just sit around and gather information.

In September 1994, members of International Socialists (IS) who were conducting a door-to-door campaign against the Reform Party were attacked by neo-nazis, leaving one member of IS needing stitches. The neo-nazis apparently yelled at IS that they were not welcome in the east-end, a part of town well-stocked with nazis. Days earlier an IS activist had his house attacked by four nazis. One week later over 200 people marched through the area of the attack in a demonstration against nazi violence.

November 1994 saw a West Indian teacher at Humber College Institute pushed down a flight of stairs. In September this teacher had received racist letters which stated that a group called "Fight for White Rights" was going to use physical force to eliminate teachers of colour. In response to this attack, students have organized the Humber Anti-Racist Movement, and a new school dress code which bans racist symbols and red and white laces has been announced.

At the beginning of February 1995, an anti-racist activist was hospitalized after anti-racists clashed with skinheads in a subway station. Two nazis have been arrested and the anti-racist has made a good recovery. While some of the media referred to the skinheads as "self-proclaimed nazis", most tried to paint the incident as a "brawl" in which anti-racist attacked some people whose only crime was to be wearing Doc Martens boots. A statement in support of the anti-racists released by ARA and endorsed by several Toronto organizations including Arm The Spirit set the record straight, calling for "Zero Tolerance For Nazis Anywhere!"

Most recently, ARA was a presence in the courtrooms during Wolfgang Droege's assault trial. Droege, along with Peter Mitrevski, were on trial for their attack on some anti-racists shortly after Gary Schipper's home was targeted by an ARA demonstration on June 11, 1993. The judge in the case, who repeatedly referred to ARA as "criminals" and "thugs", cleared both men of weapons charges, but convicted Droege on one assault charge. On March 9, Droege was sentenced to -----.

Just as we go to press, it has been brought to our attention that the Canadian Patriots Network (CPN), headed up by Les Jasinski and Mark Lemire, both members of the infamous "Donut Shop Gang", has been leafletting local schools. With the emergence of groups like the CPN, it would appear that a younger generation of activists are rejecting the Heritage Front after the Bristow debacle, choosing instead to start new groups. Clearly, although the HF has been damaged, the fascist movement locally is still active and organized, albeit in different forms, under different names, and utilizing diverse strategies.

## ATS Statement Concerning The Attack On Toronto Anti-Fascists

Early on Saturday, February 4, 1995, there was confrontation between a group of anti-racists and some neo-nazis at Kennedy subway station in Toronto. Two anti-racists and two fascists were injured in the fighting. One anti-racist came close to dying after he was stabbed once in the arm, three times in the stomach, and had an artery in his neck slashed open. Police have arrested and charged two fascists. They are:

- Adrian Kaddie, 22, of Weir Crescent in Scarborough, charged with attempted murder.
- Kristian Stefan Brandes, 19, of West Hill, charged with having dangerous weapons, assault with a weapon, and aggravated assault.

The police and media were quick to condemn the anti-racists involved in this confrontation, depicting them as a "mob" which had preyed upon a group of presumably helpless fascists. Never mind the fact that these fascists nearly killed an anti-fascist comrade. One clear aim of such disinformation and media smear-tactics is to make anti-racist and anti-fascist activists afraid, to cause splits within the movement, to make people shy away from militant and confrontational tactics.

To put this into a wider context, let us cite the example of Berlin, Germany after the April 4, 1992 death of Gerhard Kaindl. When a group of anti-fascists stormed into a dinner meeting of a group of neo-nazi leaders, one of the fascists, Gerhard Kaindl, died after being stabbed. The anti-fascists had not planned on this happening, and many people in Berlin's anti-fascist scene distanced themselves from the action. That was wrong to do. Militant actions are justified and necessary, and sometimes mistakes may happen, but that does not invalidate the method.

Another example is the case of Kieran Frazier Knutson, an anti-fascist activist in Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA. When a pair of nazi boneheads attempted to disrupt an event organized by a progressive student organization, Kieran defended him-

self after being attacked by one of the fascists. The fascist, who was armed with brass knuckles, was never brought to trial; Kieran, however, faces a potential 10-year sentence on assault charges when his case goes to trial this April. The media and police in Minneapolis have been trying to say that Kieran is a criminal, but people haven't been fooled and he has received a lot of support.

It's not easy to carry out militant anti-fascist politics at the street level. There are bound to be confrontations, and our friends and comrades could be injured. At the same time, if fascists suffer bodily harm, the anti-racist movement will be confronted with increased repression. We must be willing to deal with this repression, not be silenced by it.

We also have to be fully aware of the fact that both the media and the police have a vested interest in trying to make militant activists appear like violent criminals in order to lessen public support for their politics. Indeed, we must articulate these politics well, if we wish to gain support. Distancing ourselves from our politics is not the correct approach, however.

But to begin with, we need unity and solidarity within our own ranks. Therefore we, Arm The Spirit, give our full support to the anti-racists involved in the confrontation in Toronto's Kennedy subway station. And we are both sad and angry that one of the anti-racist comrades was seriously injured and nearly killed.

Nazis should not be allowed any public space. They must be driven out of our communities. They are the ones that should live in fear and isolation, not Blacks, Jews, Asians, gays and lesbians, and other peoples targeted by fascist violence.

**Stop the criminalization of the anti-fascist movement!**  
**Attack the nazis everywhere!**

Arm The Spirit - February 9, 1995

## Berkeley Anti-Fascists Give Holocaust Denier The Boot

**Berkeley - October 13, 1994**

Two hundred anti-fascists gathered in Berkeley this evening, disrupting a speech by Holocaust denier David Irving. This infamous British revisionist "historian" has been waging a campaign for what he calls "real history" but what is in fact an insidious pack of lies. He has written a series of sympathetic biographies of Hitler, Goering, and Rommel and travels around the world lecturing at events sponsored by various pro-Nazi groups including the British Nationalist Party (BNP), the German People's Union (DPU), and the Germany's Nationale Offensive. He has been accompanied by Nazi skins and Toronto-based fascist Ernst Zundel, author of *The Hitler We Loved and Did Six Million Really Die?* In his home country of Britain, Irving is prevented from speaking publicly by anti-fascists, while in Germany, Canada, and other

countries he is banned from entering altogether.

Irving was scheduled to give a lecture at the University of California at Berkeley's Alumni House, which was secretly moved to the YWCA due to protesters already present. Scouts quickly determined the new location and informed the crowd, which then moved en masse to the YWCA. Finding no police present, protestors stormed the hall, confronting the liar and his supporters. A scuffle ensued as Irving's bodyguard attacked the protesters; several older Nazis sporting SS pins tried to leave and were subjected to the justified rage of anti-fascists, many of whom had family members interned by these same people. Irving's literature table was overturned and a box of videotapes, *"The Death of the 'Holocaust' Legend Begins,"* was smashed with great enthusiasm. Also found were



swastika stickers, a German pride button, and other Nazi merchandise.

Cops from the Berkeley and UC campus police departments eventually arrived, driving the anti-fascists from the building. By this time, most of the people who had come to hear Irving speak had gotten cold feet and left. After several more disruptions, Irving was able to give his speech to a greatly diminished audience and only under the armed protection of dozens of police.

About 75 anti-fascists waited out the lecture and Irving, donning a disguise, tried desperately for half an hour to leave without notice. Finally, as the cops were helping him carry out his hate literature, he was whisked off in a cop car.

We see tonight's action as a partial but important success. Although we were not able to prevent the lecture from taking place, we did seriously disrupt it, chasing away many would-be supporters and destroying a lot of his racist propaganda. Hopefully the Alumni House and the YWCA have learned that people in Berkeley won't tolerate racist scumbags like Irving.

Many of us were pleasantly surprised by the level of militancy displayed by protesters against the hatemongers and the breadth of participation. Many passers-by joined the protest or were otherwise supportive, adding to the collective spirit of anti-fascist solidarity.

Some onlookers voiced concern over the issue of "free speech," engaging anti-fascists in heated discussions on the street. Our response was that David Irving did not come to speak dispassionately about the finer points of academia, but instead to network with Nazis and other Holocaust deniers. To have let this event occur unhindered would imply our complicity in allowing the worldwide neo-Nazi movement to grow.

#### Attack The Fascists Wherever They Are!

(From Infoshop Berkeley  
E-mail: resist@burn.ucsd.edu)

## "Grey Wolves" Gather In Germany

On November 26, 1994, more than 10,000 members (organizers put the number as high as 30,000) of the Turkish ultra-nationalist organization MHP (National Movement Party) gathered in the German town of Sindelfingen to hear speeches by their leader, Alparslan Turkes. Turkish fascists from all across Germany, as well as from Austria and The Netherlands, attended the event. Turkish prime minister Ciller sent her greetings to the event via telephone, thus clearly illustrating the level of close cooperation which exists between the Turkish government and the Turkish far-right.

The MHP, also known by the name "Bozkurt" (Grey Wolves), stands for racist, fascist terror. Human rights experts in Turkey make the organization responsible for more than 4,000 murders, primarily of Kurds, Turkish leftists, and progressive journalists and union leaders. Its most deadly action was an attack on the May Day rally in Istanbul in 1977 which left 35 people dead and more than 200 wounded. Today, the Turkish army and special forces actively recruit MHP members to fight in special commando units in Turkey's dirty war against the Kurdish national liberation struggle.

# Freakin' The Frequencies: Radio Anti-Fa. Iz On Tha Air!

December, 1994, from the streets of East Van.

Az part of our ongoing mission to educate and agitate, Anti-Fascist Info has begun producing an anti-fascist radio program on Vancouver's Co-op Radio (102.7 on your FM dial). "Radio Anti-Fa." airs the first Monday of every month at 7pm sharp, and occupiez the first 30 minutes of the Stark Raven program (forget car-jackings, this is radio show-jacking!).

The format of the show iz a mix of anti-fascist news and analyses, along with a heavy dose of Hip Hop (az well as some ska, bhangra, punk and whatever else movez our ears).

So far, we've had a great response and many people are interested in the show (tho sometimes it's a bit ruff - we're still learnin' the ropes!).

For the benefit of those outside the Vancouver area, and for those who just can't get it together to turn their radio on at the correct time, we have cassette copieez of each and every show. For programz on other radio stations, we've gone that little extra step and have produced detailed lists of the contents of each show, including the times of each segment, description of material and any music played. Programmerz at other radio stations can simply put our show on and sit back, or they can edit it and take what newz they want (tho we'd advise that the whole show be played if possible). For everyone else, you can play the tape and just kick back, soaking up the info and some fresh music!

#### No Peace For Fascists: In The Streets And On The Airwaves!

Ordering Info: "Radio Anti-Fa." shows are regularly 30 minutes in length (approx.) Copiez of the show come two to a cassette. Since we're a monthly show, new tapez are available every two months (tho we can send tapez after each show to other stations that want them sooner).

At present, we have the first two showz available. These are recorded on 90 min. cassettes (our first show iz approx. 35 min. in length).

The price in Canada iz \$5, postage inc. (this price applies to both radio programs as well as individuals!).

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Blitz Statement?





# A Look Back At The Kaindl-Trial

*Subtitle*

## The Terror

Germany, 1991: Government statistics report 2,074 anti-foreigner actions carried out by the far-right, that's more than 5 every day, including 325 arson attacks and 188 cases of assault. In the two years since Germany's reunification, more than two dozen people have been murdered by fascists. Those generally targeted for attack: immigrants and refugees, leftists, Jews, and the homeless. Neo-nazi marches, tolerated by police, draw several hundred participants. Racist mobs in Hoyerswerda carry out repeated assaults on a hostel housing Vietnamese guest workers; citizens and residents cheer and clap as bloodied immigrants are bussed out of the city. While riot police fail to stop the fascists, anti-fascist mobilizations are ruthlessly attacked. In Berlin, the far-right Republikaner (REP) party enters the city council with 7% of the vote on an anti-foreigner platform spearheaded by the slogan: "The Boat is Full!" Even Germany's traditional political parties, the christian democrats and the social democrats, do not hesitate to blame the victims, claiming that welfare fraud and excessive levels of immigration were understandable motivations for racist pogroms and fascist acts of terror.

It was against this background of racist terror that a group of Berlin anti-fascists, including members of the immigrant organization Antifasist Genclik (Anti-Fascist Youth), converged on a dinner meeting of seven fascist functionaries in a Chinese restaurant on the outskirts of Berlin-Kreuzberg on the night of April 4, 1992. Those functionaries included Carsten Pagel, a fascist lawyer and editor for the farright newspaper "Junge Freiheit", Gerhard Kaindl, head of the Berlin section of the neo-fascist Deutsche Liga (DL) party, and Thorsten Thaler, a former REP who switched over to the more extreme DL in 1991. In the restaurant, the fascists verbally assaulted a Pakistani rose peddler and then threatened a Kurdish man who came to his aid. The Kurdish man recognized Pagel, who used to be the leader of the REP party in Berlin, and he quickly alerted people in Kreuzberg's anti-fascist scene to what had happened. These people decided it was intolerable that a group of fascists should dare to hold a meeting in Kreuzberg, a neighborhood which is predominantly Turkish/Kurdish and which is also a stronghold of Berlin's autonomist scene. They decided that the fascists must be driven off. Their attack on the fascist dinner meeting was a completely justifiable anti-fascist action.

When the anti-fascists arrived at the Chinese restaurant, they masked up and went inside. During the ensuing confrontation, Thorsten Thaler was stabbed and hospitalized and Gerhard Kaindl was fatally wounded. Police activity in Kreuzberg was intense for weeks after the attack. Members of Antifasist Genclik were kept under especially close observation. But in the end, the police investigations yielded no results. The fascists vowed revenge, but the case seemed to be closed.

## The Treason

In November, 1993, a year and a half after the death of Gerhard Kaindl, 17 year-old Erkan Sonmez, a Turkish youth with a history of mental illness, turned himself in to police. After giving a detailed series of confessions, police raided a number of homes in

Kreuzberg and arrested Mehmet Ramme and Fatma Balamir. Both refused to make statements to the police. Abidin Eraslan, whom the police did not find at home, turned himself in and declared his innocence, but did not make any further statements. Two weeks later, police finally tracked down another wanted suspect, Bahrettin Yoldas. Bahrettin also gave hours of detailed testimony to police, largely confirming the statements made by Erkan and other suggestions made to him by the interrogating officers. Six other anti-fascists avoided arrest in November 1993, but two of them, Seyho Karaaslan and Carlo Blietz, eventually turned themselves in in order to stand trial with the others.

The charges filed by the state prosecutor, which were based entirely on the confessions made by Erkan and Bahrettin, charged the defendants with one count of joint premeditated murder motivated by political hatred and six counts of joint attempted murder. All of the defendants face potential life-terms. Before the trial opened in September 1994, presiding Judge Eschenhagen changed the attempted murder charges to assault, but the threat of life in prison still lingered over the heads of the defendants.

Within Berlin's autonomist scene, the slogan "Keep your mouth shut! No statements to the police!" is taken for granted. Yet during the solidarity work for the so-called Kaindl-Trial, this maxim was largely forgotten. Solidarity posters expressed support for all seven defendants, and it was virtually taboo to discuss the fact that the entire trial was not the result of police investigation and repression, but rather because of the confession of two apolitical youths who ratted out on their former friends. The tactical decision was, it was important to have unity in the trial and not to isolate Bahrettin, otherwise he might decide to help the state prosecutor even more. Although Bahrettin openly rejected offers of solidarity from the left while in pre-trial custody, the left did not want to reject him.

## The Trial

More than 2,000 people marched through Kreuzberg on the eve of the trial, and on the opening day itself, September 20, around 300 supporters attended an early-morning rally outside the court. There was a great deal of national media attention placed on the opening of the trial, and a press conference of international trial observers, including human rights activists from Turkey and former Tupamaros

prisoners from Uruguay, were successful in maintaining the trial's political character. Support work on the outside was consistent throughout the trial, and the courtroom was always packed with family members and supporters on each day of proceedings. But these proceedings soon became disheartening to many.

Before the trial, it was impossible for the defendants to have joint discussions, so the defense strategy was largely dictated by the defence team of liberal lawyers and was heavily influenced by the threat of possible life-terms on charges of murder. What's more, no one knew how Bahrettin would act during the trial. Judge Eschenhagen presented herself as kind and friendly, and she listened politely as the individual defendants each described, in too much detail, what happened on April 4, 1992 in the Chinese restaurant. It was this self-incrimination which eventually provided the basis for the guilty verdicts, however, as a doctor's testimony regarding Erkan's mental illness made his confessions unusable in the trial, and Bahrettin's confessions were cast into serious doubt when it was revealed that the protocols of his sessions with investigators were written down in an illegal fashion. Fatma gave only a political declaration and no other statements. Abidin was later cleared by two witnesses and acquitted of all charges. And whereas Carlo and Mehmet refused to name any names of people not already in custody, they did not call into question Erkan and Bahrettin when they revealed the name of the "murderer". And this could easily have been done, since many of Bahrettin's other statements had been shown to be completely false, such as Abidin being the leader of the action that night, when in reality he did not even take part at all. In the end, the defendants were forced to make distinctions between better and worse; hitting a fascist is one thing, but stabbing one, that's murder. The state wanted a murder trial, and they got it. At least two of the four people still in hiding are still wanted by the German authorities on charges of murder; if they are ever caught, they will certainly be convicted.

When the state prosecutor's office saw that their case was falling apart, and indeed that they themselves were being placed on the defensive, with Judge Eschenhagen expressing extreme dissatisfaction with the police's "unprofessional" investigative conduct, they moved quickly to strike a deal with the defence team. In exchange for lesser charges and a speedy end

*continued on page*



# Fatma Balamir's Political Declaration

We are on trial here today charged with the "joint murder" of a fascist cadre, as well as being charged with six counts of first degree assault. According to the charges, our motive was "politically-motivated hatred". These charges are based on the confessions of a 16-year-old who has been in a psychiatric clinic for some time now. This fact alone proves that the only interest of the state prosecutor and the state authorities is to criminalize and scare us, active anti-fascists and immigrants, with threats of a severe penalty, thereby to set the standard for all those immigrants, refugees, and homeless people who are not satisfied in their role as victims.

We stand here before the court primarily as immigrants but also as anti-fascists, as well as people affected by the arson attacks, murders, and pogroms carried out racist death-squads and neo-nazis, and yet we are the ones charged with "politically-motivated hatred".

We stand before a court that has allowed a woman to file a secondary charge in the case, claiming that she suffered "psychological damage", and this from a person who, through her activities in the fascist party Deutsche Liga, is jointly responsible for the deaths of more than 60 people (murdered), as well as thousands more attacks on refugees and immigrants. From a person whose propaganda, hateful writings, and inhumane politics have meant that we immigrants and refugees not only suffer "psychological damage", but that we must even fear for our lives.

We are charged by a justice system comprised solely of Germans, who are neither affected by racism nor threatened by the recent events and climate, and who in good German tradition turn things around in this country by trying to make a murderous band of nazis seem like poor victims, and with verdicts, as in the case of the Holocaust denier Deckert, legitimizes attacks, pogroms, and murders against us immigrants and refugees at the judicial level. We are entirely cut off from social conditions here.

We live in a country:

- in which there have been more than 60 deaths (murders) since reunification, in addition to 10,000 attacks on immigrants, refugees, homeless people, and anti-fascists.
- in which nazi marches and events are tolerated and supported by the police, the justice system, and the politicians.
- in which people are hunted by racist gangs on the street because of their skin color and then kicked to death, while hundreds of people, Germans, stand by and clap and cheer on the attackers.
- in which we are discriminated against day by day in administrative offices and schools, at work and on the

street, threatened and insulted, a country in which the borders between human dignity and the right to live no longer exist.

- in which we see images which are sad and shocking for many people, but which for us as immigrants represent a real existing threat, the images of Rostock, Hoyerswerda, Moelln, Solingen, where people are burned to death in their sleep, where a mob of neo-nazis and racist hooligans, with broad popular support, sought for days to burn more than one hundred refugees to death.

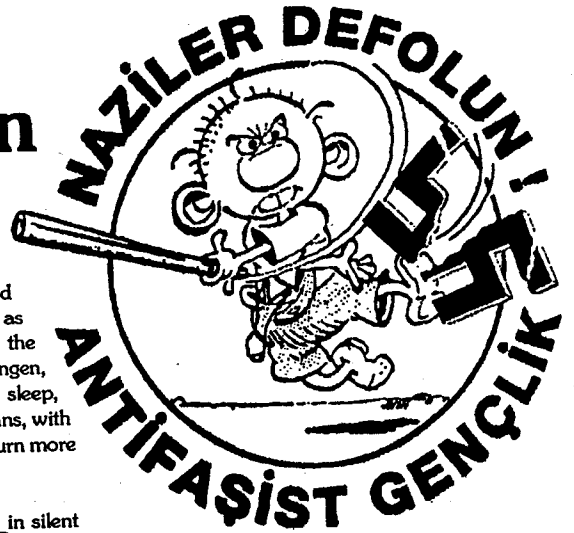
- in which an entire unit of police officers, in silent agreement with the murderers, holds back and just watches. These same police, however, gladly display their power when it comes to anti-fascist demonstrations or events, where they wield into groups of people swinging their clubs, and then the press characterizes this as a successful action against so-called left-wing extremists and "Chaoten".

- in which the state, the politicians, and the media express understanding for the fears and the social problems of the attackers, murderers, and arsonists, where the right to asylum has been restricted, essentially abolished, and where the victims of attacks are made to feel themselves responsible just by being here.

- in which the established political parties utilize these racist-fascist events in order to compete for votes with slogans like "the boat is full" or "floods of refugees" or "we are also opposed to giving foreigners the right to vote". Racism and violence against minorities in this country has many faces, they start with discrimination, laws against foreigners, and asylum restrictions from this state's politics and they end with racist harassment on the streets, in administrative offices, in the schools, and at work, and all of this threatens our lives. Anyone who lives in this country and who remains silent in the face of these events is guilty of supporting the militant racist-fascist attacks in Hoyerswerda, Rostock, Moelln, Solingen, and many other places directed against refugees, immigrants, and our lives and dignity, and these people thereby declare us to be unworthy of living.

That is our reality. We are confronted with violent politics and with a violence on the streets which knows no boundaries. For us, immigrants, refugees, and other minorities, it is necessary and a matter of survival that we organize ourselves.

In a climate of increasing violence from the right-wing, the lack of civil rights for minorities, alienation, discrimination, and threats on our lives, the initiative Antifascist Genclik (Anti-Fascist Youth) was founded. This group was founded by people of different ages, and I was active in this group. Antifascist Genclik is an open, legal initiative which neither has a hierarchical structure nor are any certain people leaders in the group. The main purpose behind our anti-fascist work was to start long-term political work with immigrants, anti-fascist initiatives, and all humanitarian and democratic individuals so as to work together to protect and advance our social and political interests. By means of



directed political work, Antifascist Genclik sought to tackle the problems faced by immigrants living here, as well as our parents, families, and children, and to organize broad public awareness so as to push through our demands for dual citizenship, voting rights for immigrants, and laws against discrimination and exclusion. To do this, we organized events and demonstrations and we published a magazine. In addition to events and demonstrations, we felt it was important and necessary that we not stay hidden any longer when nazis march through the streets or organize events to spread their hateful politics, but rather we decided to go to these events together and to disrupt them. We learned soon enough that only a united opposition in the early stages can prevent fascist organizing and attacks from spreading. We see ourselves as part of the anti-fascist movement in Germany. Neither the anti-fascist movement in Germany nor the independent initiative Antifascist Genclik have ever propagated the goal of consciously killing neo-nazis. The death of any person is never the goal nor the approved result of anti-fascist actions.

- We strongly reject the joint premeditated murder theories put forward by the state prosecutor and the state authorities, a theory which came about as the result of dubious and manipulated confessions. Those people that wish to sentence us as murderers and violent attackers are also sentencing all people, all anti-fascists who are struggling for a life where everyone can live together without fear, discrimination, and exclusion, regardless of their skin color, nationality, or gender.

- We hope that the state prosecutor and the state authorities will not be successful in their attempt to put us in jail for several years. And we hope that a broad, anti-fascist public mobilization will support our demands and the legitimacy of the anti-fascist struggle, and that we won't be left here alone.

- And we say once again: The struggle against fascism, sexism, and racism is just, and necessary!

- We send our greetings to all people, anti-fascists, and initiatives who have supported us for the last several months and who have not left us alone, and all those who have demanded that we be released and who keep demanding that!

Fatma Balamir - September 1994

Graphic



# After The Kaindl-Trial <sup>Font?</sup>

## An Interview With Fatma, Seyho, Carlo, And Abidin

**After one year of pre-trial detention, you are all now, at least temporarily, back among your friends. How are you doing?**

**Abidin:** I'm fine, and I'm really happy to be on the outside again. It's nice to be back with friends and to be able to carry out our political work once more.

**Fatma:** Yeah, I'm also doing fine, being on the outside again after a year.

**Carlo:** It's much better not being caged like a rabbit.

**Seyho:** Well, of course it was difficult at first to get used to things. Just the fact of having been in prison leaves scars, both social and familial. And then there's all the problems related to the trial. Discussions among friends have not been constructive. Everyone just expresses their own personal opinion, instead of viewing this trial objectively, what we were facing and what we achieved.

**How much did you know of the solidarity work being done, both here in Germany as well as internationally, and how did you feel about it?**

**Abidin:** First, I'd like to say that what went on in Germany and internationally over the past year really makes me happy. I also think it's nice that I got so many letters from people I don't even know. Although I am very positive about all the support work which was done, I'd just like to say that, particularly among the supporters in Berlin, the communication with us did not happen as I had envisioned. The whole discussion which went on the outside wasn't an exchange of opinions with us, but rather it all just went over our heads. We had the impression that the decision of which path we should take was being decided for us on the outside.

**Fatma:** First, I'd like to agree with Abidin. I was very impressed by the broad support we received on the outside. I got so many letters from all sorts of places - from the USA, from Japan. All the demonstrations and rallies impressed me as well. There haven't been 500 people at a prison rally in years. I also heard that there were splits in the support scene in Berlin. I think we prisoners were partially responsible for that, in that we didn't attempt to reach a common line or strategy which we could then express to the outside. The problem was, we had other problems to deal with. Even so, I'm really thankful for all the solidarity and support we received.

**Seyho:** I was on the run for about eight months. I pretty much only knew what was going on via the media. I thought the support work was very good. That cannot be underestimated. There could have been more, and it could have been better, but it did receive international attention. It left an impact in leftist and progressive circles, so the court was not able to push through the original indictments.

**The murder charges were based on the confessions from Erkan and Bahrettin, which they gave in their statements to police. What advice**

**can you give to immigrants and anti-fascists, so that such shitty confessions are not repeated?**

**Fatma:** I think that all leftist structures are really lacking when it comes to dealing with youths. What it is like to be in police custody, or how about when it's state security police, not "normal" cops? What do I do when I'm sitting there for eight hours and I'm being put under tons of pressure? When they say to me, if I don't tell them, they are going to stick me with extra charges? Then they bring up other actions, any action, and they say they are going to accuse me of that, too, if I don't talk. They know I was involved, they will surely bring me to trial. And so on. These are all situations which are very difficult to deal with, both for inexperienced youths as well as for politically-conscious people - I don't draw a big distinction between the two.

**Abidin:** First, I'd like to say that what we have been saying for years, "No statements to the police!", has always been really important and that we need to strengthen this notion within anti-fascist circles. But just shouting this slogan won't help us any. Because if you don't establish an alternative perspective on life with those people that you are also politically active with, in order to develop mutual human consciousness and a feeling of responsibility, then this problem will never be solved. I'd also like to say something briefly about the whole traitor discussion. It's not that difficult to come to the conclusion that they both (Erkan and Bahrettin - trans.) betrayed us, because there's no other way to put it. But I was more concerned with how we then dealt with this. It was important to win them over as people back to our side and not to abandon them to the state prosecutor. At the same time, you have to keep in mind the discussion about the prisoners' trial strategy, which to some degree never took place, and which I also felt to be really irresponsible considering the position we were in.

**Carlo:** I make a fundamental distinction between people with "political feeling, so-called consciousness" and people who don't have this. As for humanity, and especially what Fatma and Abidin are saying, this is partially just a farce. I think it's partially just empty words, nice thoughts, but not much else. But this could change, right?

**Seyho:** Normally, you shouldn't ever make statements to police. But when apolitical people are involved in a trial, people who could be utilized by the state in an attempt to sterilize the entire anti-fascist scene, then there's no alternative but to try and get yourself off. But if you do this, it's important that you maintain your dignity and not become totally done in by the court.

**Most of you opted for this trial strategy of just trying to get off. Can you explain why?**

**Seyho:** There were two very detailed confessions on



hand. Both were very manipulated, but if we had not addressed concrete points, it would have been extremely difficult to overturn the indictments. The fact that the media played such a big role before the trial, with all the shitty newspapers printing our photos and describing us as murderers, extremely violent and radical, had the effect of making the entire scene appear in this light. So we had no alternative, even though both confessions were manipulated.

**Abidin:** A strategy of total non-compliance, in the face of confessions made against us and a heavy construction on the part of the state prosecutor's office, would have been very risky when faced with murder charges, and you also can't develop a strategy based on "if", "maybe", and "perhaps". I was concerned with winning the freedom of my co-defendants as quickly as possible, so that they didn't have to sit in prison for 10 or 15 years. In principle, I think it's correct to refuse to cooperate with the cops in order to clear up a matter. But our principles can't be universally employed without exception. You need to always base your politics on the concrete situation at hand.

**Fatma:** I decided to take the route of non-compliance. I didn't put anyone under pressure to take up my position. On the contrary, I am willing to discuss with the others their compliance. The deciding factor for my decision was my personal evaluation of the action, to what degree I was in political agreement with it. The fact that a person was killed is not reflective of anti-fascist strategy, but such things can happen and I won't distance myself from that fact. The matter concerned my own identity. It was my opinion that it's not only possible to betray others, but that you can betray yourself as well. I don't want to remove myself from what came about as a result of the compliance and say I didn't know anything about it. I am just as responsible as the others.

**There are different degrees of compliance.**



## Why did you all decide on the form you did?

**Seyho:** It was an anti-fascist action which did not intend to result in a death. Therefore

we opted for the most difficult form, the free question-answer variety, because we felt we were justified and that we would simply be depicting reality. I think it would have been really difficult to defeat the indictments with any other form of compliance. Many mistakes could have been avoided if other people had been a little more energetic, and that also applies to the defence attorneys. Our lawyers directed the trial and we bore all of the risks. I would not recommend this strategy to others for future trials. But each person has to decide for themselves what is most positive for themselves and for political development in Germany, and what has to be done so that things take one step forwards, not backwards. But you can't apply that everywhere.

**Abidin:** Once we had decided on a strategy of compliance, little time was left. There were discussions about answering the questions in writing or not answering all of the questions, and that we needed to prepare ourselves for the most important questions. Objectively, many people did not take this seriously and we had to deal with this on our own.

**Fatma:** I don't know exactly how the discussions regarding compliance were carried out. I thought they were going to do the compliance in writing. Now I can say, it would have been better to wait until the trial had begun before complying, to see how the others reacted. There are many forms of compliance, and I think they chose the worst one. My criticism of the lawyers is that they consistently tried to press their strategy onto us. If we could have decided things more in common, then the lawyers would not have been able to push through their own strategy like they did.

**The murder charge fell apart, and the state prosecutor was pressed more and more onto the defensive. Abidin was acquitted. The state prosecutor, the court and the defence attorneys then agreed to a "deal". What was the essence of this deal and why did you agree to it?**

**Carlo:** Why did we agree to it? It's simple, we wanted to get out!

**Fatma:** At first, I was against this deal, but it was clear that I would support the decision of the others. We immediately said ok, without first reflecting on what we would gain with this deal and what we would lose. So we lost everything: The state security police were not cross examined, the fascists were not cross examined. I think it's a very high price to pay for three months of freedom. (Although the defendants were sentenced in November 1994, they do not begin serving their sentences until February 1995. -trans.) Maybe we wouldn't have reached our goal, even though the chances were good. But you should never give up so quickly, even when things are rough.

**Seyho:** I agreed to the deal, because some of us could not handle the prison conditions. I thought there was a danger that if the state security police were cross examined, that the trial would become emotionalized, to our harm, and dictated by other witnesses. Another factor was the defensive character of our defence strategy throughout the trial.

**Abidin:** Politically, I think the deal was wrong, because we lost a lot because of it. We could have gotten more out of the trial. But it was made clear to us that our compliance was a part of the deal. Although I agreed to this compliance, I felt that we should remain on the offensive and secure a deal while on the offensive. That didn't happen. But when I hear that many people on the outside view the trial as a defeat, I disagree. We shouldn't ignore our own victories and become demoralized. The action in the Chinese restaurant was one of many spontaneous actions carried out by the anti-fascist movement, with the only difference being that a fascist was killed. The action was controversial and it raised many questions within the anti-fascist movement. How do you think people can learn from all of this?

**Fatma:** If you are going to go somewhere, then you can't just put together a spontaneous group and head off. You have to stop and think, look at what you have,

## Greeting Address For The Opening Of The Trial Against The Seven Prisoners In Berlin

These proceedings against seven Turkish, Kurdish, and German anti-fascists are a direct state attack against the right to resist - it's not a matter of principles of law or the fundamentals of justice.

It makes sense that such a trial is taking place in Germany, for what more fitting place could there be for such proceedings than the land of Nazi state terrorism and its continuing demonstration of politics wherein the state's interests are supreme.

And there's also no more fitting example of what can happen when an almighty state meets with no resistance.

People all around the world are informed about the horrors of the European Holocaust - but how many people know that the Holocaust, regardless of how terrible it was, was carried out in a legal manner and was made possible by twisted, racist laws? And how many people know that many of the judges who served in the German genocide courts - the so-called people's courts or *Volksgerichtshöfen* - today still receive state pensions for their "services"?

Today, we have a city like Hannover in Pennsylvania where the cops tell Black people to leave their homes and their city (meanwhile the Ku Klux Klan rallied outside their homes unopposed for three days - ed.). At the same time, in Great Germany, Turkish women and girls are burned to death in their homes, and so-called "guestworkers" are no longer welcome in the new Germany.

Because the people in Germany failed to wage resistance against the Nazi regime, we must learn from their fatal mistakes and resist the state today in order to honor the gift of life.

John Africa, revolutionary and founder of MOVE, once said: "It's crazy not to resist something which you yourself, your family, and the people in the country in which you live know brings nothing but pain."

That's why I'd like to ask you all - resist! Organize resistance against the system! Provoke a rebellion!

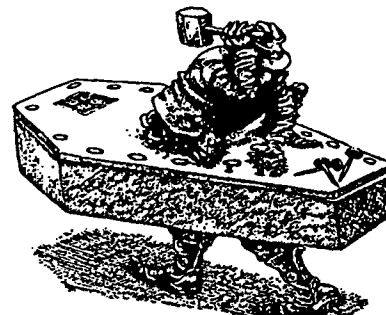
Mumia Abu-Jamal - September 1994

talk about the action and consider what can happen and what should not happen. But if there's no time, then things are different. And especially after an action, it's important to discuss what the repercussions might be and how to deal with them.

**Abidin:** To me, this action, with all of its mistakes, was just one of many within the anti-fascist movement. I think it's just pure chance that no fascist had ever been killed prior to this action. Actually, there should have been a discussion amongst anti-fascists much earlier about how to prevent undesired results. But better late than never. After all of these experiences, it's very important that all of us think about these things.

**Carlo:** People need to be better organized, I guess.

(Translated from *Herzschlaege Bulletin* #5)



...A Look Back continued from page 35

to the trial, the defence attorneys agreed not to cross examine fascist witnesses or police investigators. In other words, the public would never learn how police data on the suspects got leaked to the DL party newspaper, nor could evidence leading to possible misconduct charges against the investigating police officers come to the surface. And so, a deal was made: acquittal for Erkan due to health reasons, a suspended 1 year sentence for the repentant and cooperative Bahrettin; a suspended 15 month sentence for Fatma, the accomplice; and 3 years in low-security detention for the "attackers", Mehmet, Seyho, and Carlo. The two Germans still in hiding might be able to resurface, but the two Turks are still wanted on charges of murder.

Just a handful of people came to the rally outside the courthouse on the day the verdicts were read. In her decision, Judge Eschenhagen lauded the efforts of legal anti-racist activists, but strongly condemned violence. A bitter slap in the face for the militant anti-fascist movement. It's hard to say what defence strategy would have been best. Of course, if everyone had kept their mouth shut, there wouldn't have been a trial. But things didn't happen that way, and once the defendants were confronted with incriminating allegations and charged with murder, they decided to get out of trouble as best they could. A purely political defence was seen as being too risky.

Despite all the frustrations from the first arrests in November 1993 to the sentencing of the accused anti-fascists in November 1994, there is much to be happy about. People facing several years in prison are now free, and an arrogant state prosecutor was forced to retreat. But the cost of this partial victory was high. There are many lessons to be learned from the Kaindl-Trial. The militant anti-fascist movement should discuss these lessons and take them to heart.

**Attack the fascists wherever they are!  
No statements to the police!**



# Police Raids In Göttingen

## Stop State Terrorism! Fight Back!

On Tuesday, July 5, 1994, special forces and other police units from the federal, state and Göttingen police, supported by local police from neighbouring regions simultaneously stormed the homes of 17 people. The searches were carried out against members of the Autonome Antifa (M). All of the affected people were fingerprinted and photographed after the searches.

Rooms in the student parliament building of the University of Göttingen, a bookstore, workplaces of the affected persons, and homes of their family members were also searched. On the following day, a printer and a former work place of a member of the Autonome Antifa (M) were searched.

The searches were carried out illegally in part. Doors were broken open, a window smashed and private rooms of people unassociated with the investigation searched. Many of the police officers were wearing bullet-proof vests and had removed the safety on their guns.

Quite a bit of material was seized in the raids, including several computers, sacks full of files and notebooks, and personal items. This action from the police represents one of the largest blows to autonomist antifascism in Germany to date!

Approximately 1000 people took part in a protest and solidarity demonstration on Thursday, July 7, 1994, under the motto: State terrorism has continuity! Away with the ban of the PKK and other Kurdish organizations! No criminalization of autonomist resistance! The demonstration had been called to protest the political murder of Halim Dener, a Kurdish boy of 16 who was shot to death by a plain-clothed police officer in Hannover on the night of July 1, 1994 while putting up a poster of a banned Kurdish organization. It was also a solidarity demonstration with the Autonome Antifa (M).

A further solidarity demonstration took place on Saturday, July 16, 1994. Approximately 4000 people travelled from all over Germany to protest the attempt to criminalize autonomist resistance. The massive police presence at the demonstration was met with paint bombs, fire crackers and stones, a strong signal that this attack from the state will not go unchallenged!

Investigation according to paragraph 129a (propaganda for, support of, or membership in a terrorist organization) have been running in Göttingen since the fall of 1991.

The federal attorney, von Stahl, asserted at the time that investigation "against not yet known persons from the autonomist scene in Göttingen on suspicion of being members in a terrorist organization" were being started (GT 24.12.1991) in relation to 52 attacks in the last ten years. These attacks were a hodge-podge mix in terms of goals, tactics, technical procedure and content. A patient in the Göttingen psychiatric hospital was found to have been responsible for several of these attacks. This did not have any effect on the investigations, however. It became clear relatively quickly that the investigations were being focussed on autonomist antifascists.

The state police declared publicly in June 1992 that the investigations according to paragraph 129a were also directed against the Autonome Antifa (M). The state police (LKA) has aimed its investigation at a group that works in a legal and public realm to establish antifascism as an important force in south-

ern Lower Saxony. The strategy of the police consists, among other things, of collecting press releases of the Autonome Antifa (M) to gather fingerprints, confiscating rental contracts for lecture rooms and vans used in demonstrations, observing group meetings and private homes, and tapping telephones.

### Grounds For The Searches

The Autonome Antifa (M) was defined as a "criminal organization according to paragraph 129" in the search warrants and July 5th press release from the Celle police department. The group is also charged with making "propaganda for the terrorist organization RAF (Red Army Fraction) and having close contact on several levels to members of the RAF", charges that fall under paragraph 129a.

There is no talk of the original 52 attacks that were supposedly being investigated. They were simply a means for the state police to impose special conditions on the investigation, allowing them to use methods such as phone-tapping and observations. The crime that Autonome Antifa (M) is charged with in order to define it as a "criminal organization" according to police is "violation of the assembly law". This is a reference to the "black block, comprised of up to 800 people... the impression of building a private army... and violation of the ban on uniforms."

The following quotation from a letter from the state attorney in Celle to the city attorney in Göttingen from March 9, 1994, is worth noting in connection with these events. The letter refers to the militant action against the fascist training centre of the FAP (Freiheitliche Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands) and its functionary Karl Polacek: "The previous considerations and evaluations still support the suspicion that the action in Mackenrode was planned and carried out by the AA(M). The fact that the AA(M) neither called nor claimed responsibility for the action under its name, however, speaks against this conclusion. To date no one from the "core group" of the AA(M) can be brought in connection to this act. That further investigations in this direction would bring results is not clear. It is also improbable that searches of the rooms of members of the AA(M) would bring any further clarity in this matter." Nevertheless, the search warrants for the raids on July 5, 1994 were issued two days later by the state attorney in Celle.

### The Political Goal

The political goal of the investigation is the examination and criminalization of the Autonome Antifa (M) and its politics. The stated goal was to "collect evidence of the goals, strategy and tactics of this group as well as the individual positions of its members within the group."

The state attorney's office confirmed the political assessment of the Autonome Antifa (M) in its own press release. The criminalization is aimed above all against its successful antifascist public and coalition politics. The coalition demonstrations against the fascist training centre in Mackenrode in 1988, Adelebsen in 1993, and Northeim in 1994 called by autonomists, labour unions, citizens' initiatives, the Greens and the SPD (Social Democrats) have be-



come an important part of antifascist culture in Göttingen and southern Lower Saxony. Through these demonstrations and other actions, antifascist politics have become accepted and anchored in wide circles in the population.

Politically, this attack from the state is logical. The political work of a group that names connections between fascism and imperialism, fights against them and that is successful in its public and coalition work clearly stands in opposition to the interests of the state.

### Antifa And The RAF

In the last several years, the state has continuously attempted to sell the idea to the public that the Autonome Antifa (M) is the legal arm of the RAF. Since at least the early 1980's, the state has attempted to link political movements like the peace or anti-nuclear movements with the RAF in order to more heavily criminalize them.

This is a political, not juridical tactic. The assertions like the following from the Lower Saxony interior minister are absurd. He argued in the 1994 Defense of the Constitution Report that the Bahncard (discount card for train travel) found in the backpack of Birgit Hogeled, the RAF member arrested in Bad Kleinen in June 1994, had been bought in Göttingen and thus, logically, the autonomist antifascists must be supporting the RAF.

This line appeared again in the state attorney's press release regarding the searches in Göttingen: the Autonome Antifa (M) is "...a group in the anti-imperialist spectrum. Therefore, the Autonome Antifa (M) maintains on several levels close contact to members of the terrorist RAF." This pitiful, small-minded logic has a single goal: to discredit, isolate and finally to destroy autonomist antifascist resistance. The state is attempting to prevent the organization and establishment of a wide antifascist movement in wide circles in society.

### The State Apparatus And Nazis

While investigations have been being carried out against anti-fascists since Fall 1991, fascists - like the FAP functionary Thorsten Heise - have been able to increase their activities, and that under the noses of

*continued on page*

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# FORBIDDEN ART

## Anti-Fascist Art Brochure Banned In Göttingen

In the fall of 1991, a series of investigations were started in the German city of Göttingen concerning the law Paragraph 129a (propaganda for, support for, formation of, or membership in a terrorist organization). The reason for these investigations were 52 unsolved anti-fascist attacks which were carried out in the Göttingen region since 1981. The state prosecutor's office in Celle (GSA) formed a special commission with Lower Saxony's criminal justice department (LKA), the SoKo 606, which was supposed to "solve" these attacks. It soon became clear that the cops were focussing their investigations on autonomist anti-fascists. In August 1992, the first series of house raids were carried out in connection with the 129a investigations in Göttingen, Osterode, and Berlin. The searches turned up nothing and no criminal proceedings were launched. Another raid in November 1992 in Ulzen on the house of an anti-fascist linked to the Göttingen investigations also failed to produce results.

### The Big Anti-Antifa Raid

In June 1992, it first was made public that the 129a investigations were directed against the organization Autonome Antifa (M), whose name was continually mentioned in connection with the investigations. On June 5-6/94, the GSA-Celle and the LKA let the cat out of the bag. The homes of 17 people charged with being members of Autonome Antifa (M) were raided. The raids were not only carried out in Göttingen, but also in various places in the states of Lower Saxony, Hessen, and North Rhine-Westphalia. The Students Association (ASTA) office at Göttingen University was also raided, as was the infoshop 'Buchladen Rote Strasse', a graphic design studio, and a printing shop. A total of 30 searches were carried out, the largest anti-Antifa raid ever in the Federal Republic of Germany. But these raids were no longer concerned with explaining the 52 attacks or claims of the formation of a terrorist organization. These cops were suddenly silent about these accusations. The charges now were based on Paragraph 129 (formation of a criminal organization) and Autonome Antifa (M)'s violation of public assembly laws. Some of these 129 investigations are also 129a investigations. Now the claim was also being made that Autonome Antifa (M) were in direct contact with the RAF, which is a pure state propaganda lie. The 129a accusations are largely directed at the spreading of one KuK (*Kunst und Kampf*, Art and Struggle) poster by alleged members

**STOP**  
state terrorism

**§ 129 & 129a**  
**fight back!**

no criminalization of the Autonome Antifa (M)

of Autonome Antifa (M). This poster was used to publicize an Autonome Antifa (M) event held on May 6/93. Speakers at the event, besides Autonome Antifa (M), included two former RAF-prisoners, Gisela Dutzi and Gunter Sonnenberg, as well as the editors of the newspaper "clockwork 129a". The poster for the

event showed the remains of the Weiterstadt prison which had been blown up by a RAF commando in March of that year.

### Investigations Against Autonome Antifa (M)

Besides the 129/129a investigations directed against Autonome Antifa (M), there is now also a separate 129a investigation underway against the infoshop 'Buchladen Rote Strasse' because they sold a pamphlet entitled "Selected Historical Documents: Federal Republic of Germany - Red Army Fraction", which was published by GNN-Verlag and which is now circulating in its 6th edition, and because the infoshop allegedly sold photocopies of a RAF communique which had already appeared in a nearly complete form in several daily newspapers. In November 1994, the people who run the infoshop were charged with 129a, spreading propaganda for the RAF.

Shortly before Christmas 1994, lawyers representing the 17 people charged with membership in Autonome Antifa (M) were sent huge boxes with 31 files from the GSA-Celle. The files showed the massive amount of observation which had been carried out in Göttingen over the last three years. These dictated serious violations of individual privacy: telephone tapping, observations, research into peoples' private lives, etc. These 31 files are only the tip of the iceberg. There are several more boxes full of files not released by the Celle authorities, presumably because they are not relevant to this case. After looking at the files, it is now clear the number of people being accused of membership in Autonome Antifa (M) has risen from 17 to at least 25.

### New 129a Investigations

In January 1995, new 129a investigations were launched. In addition to the separate charges filed against the infoshop and the 25 criminalized persons accused of membership in Autonome Antifa (M), there is now an investigation underway of the anti-fascist cultural initiative 'Kunst und Kampf' (KuK), Art and Struggle. The LKA's reasons for this are a Brochure produced by KuK for an exhibition which took place in Göttingen on October 9/94 entitled "Forbidden Art". This criminalization of KuK's art is truly unique for Germany.

The KuK Initiative was formed in the early-80s in connection with the German autonomist and anti-imperialist movements. Starting in 1985, KuK posters, oil paintings, and actions were continually banned. The house searches, confiscations, and investigations have continued to this day. Even the 'Verfassungsschutz' (VS), the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, keeps its eyes on KuK. For example, in the chapter entitled "Autonomists" in the 1991 Lower Saxony state VS report there is a line which reads: "Several 'anti-fascist struggle' initiatives have arisen from this scene in Göttingen. These are closely connected to the 'KuK Initiative'."

So it's no surprise that during Germany's biggest-ever anti-Antifa raid on June 5-6/94 the cops were especially interested in objects bearing KuK's logo. In total, more than 200 KuK posters were confiscated.

### The "Forbidden Art" Exhibition

The KuK wanted to publicly expose the methods



of the state apparatus with its October 9/94 exhibition in the lobby of the Jung Theater in Göttingen. The exhibition displayed posters which had been banned by the political police, oil paintings, and pictures of various agit-prop actions from 1983-1994. These agit-prop actions were mostly street-theater performances, such as those which have become traditional in Göttingen every October 3, Germany's Reunification Day. The exhibition was entitled "Forbidden Art", and a special 60-page Brochure documenting the illegal KuK posters from 1985-1994 was published for the event. A text accompanying the exhibition is now part of a 129a investigation (propaganda for a terrorist organization).

### Subpoenas And Investigations

Two people accused of membership in Autonome Antifa (M) and three people from the infoshop 'Buchladen Rote Strasse' have been issued subpoenas by the LKA in conjunction with the KuK investigation. LKA agents have also been showing up at a local graphics design studio. Already, the "lines of argumentation" used by the LKA and the GSA sound very similar to those used by the Nazis when they started banning art. All art, on account of its style and content, is to be banned which does not conform with the state's ideals. Anyone who thinks that's bullshit is advised to take a look at the images documented in KuK's "Forbidden Art" brochure.

The right-wing police and justice department operations have been supported by Lower Saxony's justice minister, Heidi Alm-Merk, and Lower Saxony's interior minister, Gerhard Glogowski, both of whom are members of the social democratic party SPD.

Paragraph 129a is an old weapon to be deployed in politically-motivated repression in Germany. In this case, it's a means of criminalizing and destroying the anti-fascist movement, but we will not be silenced by the state's actions. The KuK exhibition will, as planned, becoming a travelling exhibition in Germany and in neighbouring countries, and the accompanying brochure can still be ordered.

### Long live antagonistic anti-fascist culture!

KuK, late January 1995

The brochure "Forbidden Art" can be ordered for 10 DM at:

KuK c/o Buchladen Rote Strasse  
Rote Strasse 10  
37073 Göttingen  
Germany





# "Nie, Nie, Nie Wieder Deutschland"

## Anti-German Reunification Riots In Bremen

The German authorities did all they could to keep everything peaceful and happy during the "National Unity Festival" in Bremen last weekend, but despite all their draconian measures, left-wing autonomist youths successfully disrupted the nationalist spectacle which was designed to celebrate four years of German reunification.

The week before the planned festival, the Bremen interior ministry banned all demonstrations in the city from October 1-3. Despite legal appeals, this ban was upheld by the courts. In addition to the ban on all demonstrations, heavy police repression was also supposed to dissuade leftists from taking to streets. An anti-nuclear movement bookshop was raided and telephones and fax machines were confiscated. And on Sunday, October 2, police stormed into a local activist meeting and smashed furniture and computers and arrested 70 people who were allegedly planning ways of going ahead with the next day's banned demonstration. In response to this police action, some 300 people rioted in one of Bremen's shopping districts throughout the night. Several store windows were smashed, a supermarket was looted, and at least 10 luxury cars were torched.

A few hours later, autonomists from cities across Germany began arriving in Bremen. In an attempt to enforce the court's ban on all demonstrations, more than 2,500 police were on the streets in Bremen, including BGS border patrol units and masked SEK special commandos. Water cannons and riot police blocked the streets where the banned demonstration was supposed to start from, but despite the heavy police mobilization, people were able to group together near Bremen's main train station, and soon a demonstration of more than 1,500 people, led by a

women/lesbian block, headed off towards the Congress Center where chancellor Helmut Kohl and hundreds of politicians and capitalists were celebrating four years of "Great Germany".

After about two hours, this initial demonstration dispersed, and, surprisingly, riot police forces pulled back, presumably to strengthen their protection around the Congress Center. Seizing this opportunity, several hundred people quickly regrouped and marched off towards Bremen's business district. On the way, election placards were torn down and shop windows were smashed. As riot police still had not gotten reorganized, groups of masked youths headed off in front of the demonstration and attacked several banks and shops. Outside the Deutsche Bank, two plainclothes officers were beaten down and their radios were smashed. In all, around 12 cops were injured. By the time police units were able to move in, several hundred thousand DM in damage had occurred. The police were eventually able to injure at least 3 people and make 274 arrests, but all of these people were released from police custody on Monday night. Those arrested may be charged with "participation in an illegal demonstration".

In addition to the illegal demonstration to the Congress Center and the powerful little riot in Bremen's banking district, autonomists also successfully disrupted the government-sponsored "Vollesfest" in the old city center. Speakers were shouted down, small demonstrations circled the town square shouting anti-German slogans, and a German flag was torched. The scene was made even more pathetic by the futile attempts by riot police to intervene. Because of the sheer number of people in the square, they were



unable to act. All they really did was scare away tourists and the nice German families who had come to watch the festival. Police became especially tense when they realized that German president Roman Herzog was inside a church service right in the very middle of all the chaotic festival disruptions. When Herzog came outside, he was shouted down and pelted with projectiles. Around 40 plainclothes police officers furiously lashed out at people in order to clear a path through the mass of demonstrators. Herzog, clearly disturbed by all the anti-German chaos, then broke off his visit to Bremen early and flew home.

Despite attempts to play down the disruptions, all of Germany's major newspapers made mention of the fact that riots and disruptions (and bad weather) had clearly plagued Germany's day of nationalist celebration. Autonomists (or "nihilists" or "criminals" or "violent vagabonds", depending on what paper you read) had successfully pushed through their protests and disruptions, despite the fact that all protests had been declared illegal and that demonstrators were well outnumbered by police. In addition to the high costs of organizing and protecting the unity festival, Bremen city officials were left with an additional bill of more than half a million DM to clean up the mess.

Never Again Germany!!



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the police. Furthermore, the state police has taken over the work of the "anti-Antifa."

The state police used, for example, the possibility in 1993 to inform the fascist Hans-Michael Fiedler about the demonstration being planned against him and his training centre in Adelebsen on March 20, 1993. Fiedler is known as one of the founders of the "anti-Antifa." (Documentation to the Demonstration in Adelebsen/Göttingen, Autonome Antifa (M), May 1993).

The city-wide known Nazi thug, Bode, was visited by the state police in 1993 and questioned for information on the autonomist scene. He was called to press charges against an anti-fascist in relation to a fight that he initiated in 1990. During the trial on January 13, 1994, in Göttingen, two witnesses - also Nazis - blabbered openly about the visit from the state police. They also admitted to having attacked the anti-fascist, who was declared not guilty (*Göttinger Drucksache*, January 21, 1994).

The Lower Saxony FAP functionary Thorsten Heise was taken into protective custody shortly before the demonstration against him in June 1994 in Northeim and then released shortly before the anti-Antifa raids in Göttingen (*FR*, July 5, 1994).

### The Struggle Continues!

The state attorney's office reported in the press in 1992 that if someone openly appeared as a member of the Autonome Antifa (M) at a lecture or other event,

she or he would be arrested for being a member of a terrorist organization immediately. The Autonome Antifa (M) has not let itself be intimidated by this threat and has organized dozens of talks since then. Even after the searches it will continue with its strategy of doing open antifascist work. At the moment, the Autonome Antifa (M) is in the process of reorganizing its technical and material infrastructure and will in no case do the state the favor of going underground or disappearing in political listlessness. The Autonome Antifa (M) will continue to oppose the criminalization offensively and openly. If the state wants to criminalize the Autonome Antifa (M), it will have to do that itself and in all publicity.

The question is if the state doctrine of "a strong doctrine" will prevail and every emancipatorial impulse is destroyed or if it is possible to fight back against this attack. Everyone for whom anti-fascism is not simply an empty word is called to stand together!

**Against The Splitting Of  
The Anti-Fascist Resistance!  
No Criminalization Of Autonomist Anti-Fascism!  
Stop The Proceedings Against Anti-Fascists!  
Immediate Return Of The Confiscated Material!  
Up With Anti-Fascist Solidarity!**

Göttingen, July 20, 1994

Autonome Antifa (M) organized in the Anti-Fascist Action/Nation-Wide Organization (AA/BO)



# August 13-21, 1994: German Fascist Mobilization Fails

On August 17, 1987, Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess hung himself in his cell in the war criminals prison in Berlin-Spandau. Ever since then, August 17 has been a day of fascist mobilizations in Germany. In 1991 and 1992, fascist marches numbered more than 2,000 people. In 1993, despite a ban on all Hess memorial activities, more than 500 fascists from across Europe marched through the city of Fulda and received world-wide media attention. Police did not move in to break up the march, instead they focussed their energy on detaining anti-fascists on the roads and highways leading to Fulda. In 1994, the fascists hoped to build on their past successes by organizing a "national action week" from August 13-21.

The main organizers of this mobilization were Christian Worch (NL) from Hamburg, Ewald Althans (AVO) in Munich in Munich, Norbert Weidner (FAP) in Bonn, and Arnulf Priem (GdNF) in Berlin. The fascists, however, failed miserably.

The fascist mobilization tactic was to file permits for demonstrations in as many cities as possible, with the hope that one or more would slip past the authorities and not be banned. When this approach failed, however, the fascists decided to try a demo across the border. On Saturday, August 13, around 100 German neo-nazis tried to hold a rally in front of the German embassy in Luxemburg. Police moved in almost immediately. The only media pictures this year were the faces of surprised nazis, who are never beaten by German cops, getting rushed by police. Within a few minutes, dozens of nazis were handcuffed on the ground and the "Skinheads march for Rudolf Hess" banner and the neo-nazi FAP party placards were tossed into the garbage.

Determined to avoid yet another international media scandal, German police were out in full force on the weekend of August 13. In addition to the 100 arrests in Luxemburg, another 250 fascists were arrested at police roadblocks across Germany. Stockpiles of weapons and NS propaganda were seized. On Saturday, August 20, police made another 24 arrests as fascists tried once more to mobilize. In the end, however, their national week of action was a total failure.

In addition to thousands of police, thousands of anti-fascists across Germany were also mobilized from August 13-21 in a decentralized campaign called "Aktion '94". The campaign was organized by the national organization Anti-Fascist Action (AA/BO) and was supported by several local groups as well as the socialist political party PDS. The goal of the campaign was to organize several regional anti-fascist events in order to thwart any fascist attempts to mobilize. In Bonn, 300 people demonstrated near the home of FAP leader Norbert Weidner. Riot police prevented demonstrators from reaching Weidner's home. Weidner himself was busy getting himself arrested in Luxemburg. In Leipzig, close to 1,000 people took part in an anti-fascist demonstration through the city's center. In Bremen, police attacked an anti-fascist information stand and made two dozen arrests. The reason: if all nazis demos were banned for that day, then all antifa demos must likewise be

stopped. There were demonstrations in several other cities as well, and small blockades of fascist structures in Hamburg and Frankfurt.

The biggest Aktion '94 mobilization took place in Berlin, where anti-fascists targeted the home of Arnulf Winfried Priem, one of the key organizers in Germany's nation-wide fascist movement with a long history of far-right activity. Priem was jailed for fascist activity in the DDR in 1965, but he was considered a "political prisoner" by the West German government, who bought his freedom and allowed him to settle in West Berlin. In Berlin, Priem quickly became active in fascist organizing with the NSDAP/AO, and he developed close ties with American Gary "Gerhard" Lauck. More recently, Priem has been active in several now-banned fascist parties (DA, NF, NA etc.), and is a key figure within the fascist organization GdNF. What's more, despite having an arrest record for fascist political activity, Priem is a licensed gun-owner and he regularly offers weapons training for young fascists. Priem was also sighted in Vienna in December 1993, when a series of letterbombings were carried out by neo-nazis in Austria. Priem is known to have close ties

to those persons arrested in connection with the letterbombings.

According to the AA/BO, it is important to point out that far-right violence isn't just the work of a "brown-shirt mob", but rather that there are important individual leaders behind fascist terror activity. One such leader is Arnulf Priem, who lives at Osloerstrasse 15 in Berlin-Wedding. In an attempt to expose Priem to the media, and to his surrounding community, a demonstration was organized on Saturday, August 13, which was supposed to end at Priem's house. A court order, however, banned this section of the demo route. More than 1,000 people took part in the demonstration, which was accompanied by several hundred riot police. Two water cannons blocked the street leading to Priem's house, and at least six anti-fascists were arrested, and a few others injured, in a scuffle which broke out as demonstrators tried to move past the police roadblock. The police presence, however, was too overwhelming, and the demo had to stop short of its goal.

Despite the fact that he had the protection of several hundred Berlin riot police, Priem and two dozen young neo-nazis gathered on the roof of his house armed with slingshots and molotov cocktails. After a TV cameraman was hit in the head with a slingshot blast, police stormed the house and arrested Priem and 24 other fascists. Priem is now being charged with "building an armed gang".

Considering the fact that Priem has lived for years in safety and security, with the police turning a blind eye to his fascist activity, it is largely due to this recent anti-fascist mobilization against Priem that action has finally been taken against him. This tactic has been successful elsewhere as well. In Northeim near Göttingen, the group Autonome Antifa (M) organized a demo of close to 3,000 people outside the home of FAP leader Thorsten Heise in June of this year. Heise was the main organizer of the 1993 Rudolf Hess march in Fulda, and he has had an uncanny ability to be involved in violent fascist activity without

## Anti-Fascist News Briefs

On June 28, 1994, the trial against Wiesbaden anti-fascist Günther ended with a guilty verdict and a heavy sentence: 2 years in prison without parole. Günther was accused of involvement in a January 1993 attack on members of the outlawed neo-nazi party **Deutsche Alternative (DA)**. During this action, a few fascists were lightly injured and their cars were damaged. Günther was arrested at a police roadblock and then held in preventive detention for five months before being released on bail. Despite not having any witnesses, the prosecution was able to use circumstantial evidence to get the openly right-wing judge to hand down a conviction and a stiff sentence. Günther's defence lawyers are planning an appeal... The far-right wing of the Italian neo-fascist party **National Alliance (AN)** has broken off to form a separate, more extreme party. Around 80 National Alliance members, under the leadership of Milan journalist Domenico Leccisi, recently founded the **National Opposition Movement (MON)**. "We are and always will be fascists," said Leccisi. Unlike the National Alliance, which calls itself "post-fascist", the MON intends to represent Italy's "real fascists" (jW)... A group calling itself the **Armed Anti-Berlusconi Unit** has claimed responsibility for 8 firebombings on department stores owned by Italy's right-wing political leader Silvio Berlusconi. Stores owned by Berlusconi were attacked in Rome, Milan, Florence, Brescia, Trento, and Modena (BZ)... If you're a right-wing extremist in Germany and you carry out a violent attack against leftists or foreigners, chances are you'll never go to jail. According to official figures recently released by the German government, out of a total of 23,318 far-right attacks, only 2,191 resulted in court decisions. More than 16,000 cases were dropped before a decision could be rendered. Of these racist attacks, 95 were murders, 1,343 were cases of assault, and at least 344 were arson attacks (ND)... On Saturday, July 9, 1994, more than 900 neo-nazis held a concert and meeting in the East German town of Rudersdorf, 10km outside of Berlin. The event was billed as a "guitar concert" by a well-known far-right figure, Frank Rennicke. When the mayor of the town passed by the hall where the event was to take place and realized what was happening, he telephoned police officials. After a long delay, 100 police arrived on the scene, but they looked on passively and did not intervene. During the concert, songs with outlawed racist and fascist texts were sung, and literature from outlawed fascist organizations was distributed. Uniformed members of the neo-nazi FAP and NPD parties were also present. It is still unclear whether the gathering was a regional or international event, but at least carload of fascists from The Netherlands was spotted... In the summer of 1994, a court in Mannheim handed down a 1-year probation sentence against Holocaust denier and NPD neo-nazi leader Gunter Deckert. Apart from the very mild sentence, severe criticism has been voiced against the trial's right-wing judge, Rainer Ortle. In sentencing Deckert, the presiding judge stated that Deckert, who calls the calculated slaughter of Jews in Nazi death camps like Auschwitz a historical lie, had a "justified

*Continued on next page*



# Firebombing In Berlin

## Solidarity Movement Store Destroyed

During the night of January 14-15/95, a left-wing store called the 'Eine-Welt-Laden' in the Prenzlauer Berg section of East Berlin was firebombed. This shop, which is run by the autonomist infoshop 'Baobab', was a project of the Third World solidarity movement. The store sold clothing and other products produced by collectives in developing countries as a means of bettering the living and working conditions of people in the so-called Third World.

There is no doubt that the fire was the result of an arson attack. The entire store was destroyed, causing at least 25,000 DM in damage. There are still no concrete leads concerning those responsible for

the attack, but many people feel that the neo-nazi FAP party was responsible. The FAP's strongest presence in Berlin is in Prenzlauer Berg.

Both the 'Eine-Welt-Laden' and 'Baobab' were listed in the anti-Antifa manual "Der Einblick" which was published clandestinely by German neo-nazis in November 1993. This manual was a list of left-wing individuals and projects which were deemed anti-German and declared as targets by Germany's militant fascist movement: "These centres, cafes, and other persons listed by us can be the beginnings of operations by local anti-Antifa groups."

(Source: SpinnenNetz)

## Police Arrest 197 Neo-Nazis

On Saturday, November 5, 1994, close to 200 neo-nazis gathered in a restaurant in the Weilmordorf suburb just outside the German city of Stuttgart. The meeting was supposed to be an organizational event designed to establish a new far-right political association. Police learned of plans for the event through state agents and infiltrators in the far-right scene. The leader of the far-right FAP party, Friedhelm Büsse, was arrested at Stuttgart train station on his way to the meeting. At the restaurant itself, the event's organizer, Axel Heinzmann, drew a knife and wounded one officer as the police arrived to shut down the event. After the nazis started throwing beer bottles and glasses, police fired tear gas into the restaurant and riot police quickly arrested all 197 fascists attending the meeting. All were soon released, however, with

the exception of Heinzmann and one other fascist who are being charged with assault.

Saturday's fascist organizing event was most likely mobilized via the structures of the outlawed NSDAP/AO and the GdNF, which have starting a new form of organizing which involves loose associations of individuals and which avoids formal organizational structures. The same is true for the militant FAP, which used to be Germany's largest neo-nazi organization. The FAP recently disbanded all of its local chapters and is now a party in name only. The new organizational method being utilized by the far-right, and the planned topic for discussion at Saturday's failed meeting in Stuttgart, is the formation of *Kameradschaften* - groups of fascist comrades.

(Source: junge Welt)

*German neo-nazis being deported from Luxembourg after failed Hess rally.*

getting arrested. Three days before the Göttingen demo, however, he was arrested and taken into police custody after information about him became widely spread in the media and in the community where he lived.

But the goal of Aktion '94 is not, of course, to call for more police action against nazis. The idea is to expose fascist structures to both the general public and media, but also to the left-radical movement as well. By making an anti-fascist offensive, the fascists are then pushed onto the defensive. By exposing fascist structures, they then become open to attack. (In

April of this year, for example, Priem's car was burnt out and destroyed.) Anti-fascism has to be more than just responding to fascist pogroms and racist murders. It needs to be an offensive form of politics which aims not only at the fascist structures which organize fascist violence, but also at the system itself which tolerates fascist activity and which creates a racist social climate that allows such activity spread.

**Uncover and attack the fascist structures!  
To struggle against fascism means to struggle  
against the imperialist and patriarchal system!**

## Anti-Fascist News Briefs

*Continued from previous page*  
interest" in resisting "claims that have been continually been raised against Germany as a result of the Holocaust". Never in Germany's post-war history has a judge made such a callous remark, almost trivializing Germany's slaughter of more than 6 million Jews, Roma and Sinti, and others during the Nazi period. The head of Germany's Jewish community, Ignatz Bubis, has stated that the judge's remark is very dangerous, because it legitimizes and gives support to the growing far-right intellectual movement in Germany. Bubis also once again called on the German parliament to enact a new law making the so-called "Auschwitz Lie" a criminal offence. Under present statutes, neo-nazis like Deckert can be indicted for preaching hatred against a population group, but stating that the Holocaust is a lie is not necessarily a criminal offence in and of itself. (Germany's Supreme Court eventually overturned the Mannheim court's ruling and ordered that Deckert be given a harsher sentence.)... After nearly five decades of existence, it now looks like the Italian neo-fascist party **Italian Social Movement (MSI)** will dissolve itself and join the **National Alliance**, the right-wing alliance formed nine months ago by MSI-leader Fini. The National Alliance is part of Italy's present governing coalition. Another leading MSI-member, Sevelle, stated that a conference of representatives from the party's 250,000 members in January 1995 would decide the MSI's fate. The MSI was founded in Italy in 1946 by supporters of the fascist dictator Benito Mussolini (ND)... On Sunday, August 21, 1994, the leaders of the far-right **Republikaner Partei** and the neo-nazi **DVU** party, former SS-officer **Franz Schönhuber** and **Gerhard Frey**, met to discuss plans to form an alliance between the two parties. The fascists discussed plans to avoid competing against one another in upcoming elections. In a joint statement, the Republikaner and DVU leaders called on the German far-right to form a "right-wing block against the red popular front". Schönhuber's meeting with Frey has been criticized by many Republikaner members who fear ties with the DVU will harm the Republikaner Partei's vote potential. The DVU and the Republikaner combined have a total of 47,000 official members... In September, an asylum-seeker from Ghana was brutally attacked by skinheads and thrown from a moving S-Bahn train in East Berlin. None of the nice German citizens who witnessed the attack bothered to inform anyone about what had happened, so the man lay unconscious by the train tracks all night long. As police search in vain for the suspects, the man is still in hospital with half a leg amputated. On Saturday, October 8, fascist skinheads went on another rampage in East Berlin S-Bahn trains, this time in groups of 10-20. A man from Mozambique was hospitalized. Another man had his bike thrown off the train and was himself nearly pushed outside when a young woman intervened and caused the skinheads to flee. In all, five people were injured, and three were hospitalized. Now, authorities in Berlin have called in more than 400 BGS federal border police to temporarily patrol certain S-



# Fascism - Never Again!

## Statement Concerning An Action Against The Danish National Socialist Movement

Today we have made an action against the headquarters of the BNSB (Danish National Socialist Movement) at Hundige Strandvej 153 outside Copenhagen, by throwing an ocean of paintbombs at the house.

Until now there has probably not been much knowledge about who was living in the house, but it's no longer this way because their phone number is now written on the wall next to the foolish painting of a Knight with the Danish flag.

The aryan house is no longer white, but as multi-coloured as the world around them!

The nazi-thugs have now seriously made their praxis clear by attacking the local Pakistani grocery, and we do dare to promise that this will not be the last time we pay the master race a visit in their bunker.

And furthermore - we do also dare to encourage

everybody else to pay them a visit in any way it suits their temperament!

We dedicate today's action to the 7 anti-fascists who at this moment stand before the court in Berlin, charged with the killing of the neo-nazi functionary Gerhard Kaindl from the nazi-party Deutsche Liga. This is a show-trial in order to criminalize the work of anti-fascists and we demand that the prisoners be released immediately!

**Gerhard Kaindl Was No Victim!  
Free The Berlin 7!  
Fight Fascism Here And Now!**

October 30, 1994

(Source: ECN-DK "The Danish Connection")

# "Junge Freiheit" Attacked

On December 4, 1994, "revolutionary lesbian/women's groups and other revolutionary groups" carried out a series of attacks against the far-right German newspaper *Junge Freiheit*. In Berlin, a kiosk which has consistently refused to stop selling the paper, as well as two trucks belonging to a firm responsible for distributing the paper, were firebombed. And in the East German city of Weimar, the printing press Union Druckerei, where *Junge Freiheit* is printed, was firebombed as well. Previously, lists containing the names and addresses of all the newspaper's subscribers were stolen and distributed to various anti-fascist groups.

*Junge Freiheit*, which portrays itself as a respectable conservative newspaper, is actually one of the most significant ideological organs of Germany's neo-

fascist and revisionist movement. Despite this well-established fact, a group of intellectuals and politicians "from the entire political spectrum" issued a statement condemning the attack as an assault on "free speech". The authors of the statement, who included Frankfurt's director of multi-cultural affairs and Green member of the European Parliament, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, dubbed the attack as "historically ignorant" and said those responsible had no right to call themselves anti-fascists.

Be that as it may, the attack was a definite success. Officials from Union Druckerei, who suffered more than one million DM in damages from the attack, have announced plans to cancel their contract with *Junge Freiheit*.

(Source: *junge Welt*)

## Anti-Fascist News Briefs

...continued from previous page

Bahn train lines... A group of refugees from Sri Lanka were overcome by flood waters as they tried to enter Germany from Poland via the Neisse River recently. At least 6 bodies have so far been discovered along the banks of the river. According to two survivors, a group of at least 22 Tamils attempted the dangerous crossing late one night in August 1994. That means at least 10 refugees are still missing, possibly drowned. Refugees and asylum-seekers wishing to enter Germany have been forced to resort to dangerous nighttime river crossings, because the German-Polish border is now heavily patrolled by armed bands of BGS federal border police. Several "illegal" immigrants arrested at the border have reported severe harassment while in BGS custody. Germany abolished its constitutional guarantee of a right to asylum on July 1, 1993, thus forcing many would-be asylum-seekers to find "illegal" means of entering the country... Former members of the SS-Division *Das Reich* and the SS-Regiment *Der Führer* met on the weekend of October 15, 1994, in the German town of Lenggries. About 250 old Nazis attended the fascist gathering. Police observed the event, but did not intervene. No anti-fascist counter demonstrations were reported... On Wednesday, October 19, 1994, a Vienna court re-sentenced Austrian neo-nazi Gottfried Küssel to 11 years in prison. Küssel's original sentence was declared invalid last month due to a legal technicality. According to Austrian law, which strongly forbids national-socialist activity, Küssel could have been given a life-term. Küssel's far-right organization VAPO, according to the court ruling, was engaged in activity designed to reorganize a national-socialist movement. Meanwhile, officials in Germany say they are investigating whether Küssel was behind the failed letter-bombing attack in 1993 on Ingo Hasselbach, a former neo-nazi leader who defected from the far-right scene in early 1993... On Saturday, October 22, more than 1,000 German and Austrian right-wing students and neo-nazis held a congress in Innsbruck in Austria to call for independence for Tirol, a region of the Alps which was split up between Austria and Italy 75 years ago. Members of the right-wing *Austrian Freedom Party* (FPÖ), which is now Austria's third-largest political force, addressed the congress, and even Innsbruck's conservative party (ÖVP) mayor sent his greetings to the delegates. Also in Innsbruck were 1,000 riot police with water-cannons and two helicopters full of anti-terrorist special units who were called in to block off the congress center from the 3,500 anti-fascist demonstrators who had gathered in the city center to protest the far-right gathering. At least 200 other leftists from Germany were turned away at the Austrian border, as were several bus loads full of anti-fascists from Vienna who were not allowed entrance into Innsbruck. The demonstration, however, remained peaceful, and the right-wing assembly took place unhindered. The Tirolian issue has been a rallying-point for far-right extremists and neo-nazis in both Austria and Germany for several decades, and in the 1960s, right-wing Tirolian terrorists carried out several bombing



# Anti-Fascism In Denmark

## Danish Autonomists Chase Off Neo-Nazis

On Saturday, September 24, 1994, autonomists from Copenhagen and residents of southern Denmark successfully drove the German neo-nazi Meinolf Schönborn and his Danish associates out of the village of Kvaers, 12 km north of the German border. Schönborn used to supply the German neo-nazi movement with literature printed on his presses in Kvaers. Under Danish law, freedom of the press also covers fascist literature, and the "Auschwitz Lie", preached by Holocaust revisionists like Thies Christopherson, is also not a crime. Therefore, persons living in Denmark cannot be extradited to other countries for offences that are not crimes in Denmark, which is why Schönborn, whose Nationalist Front (NF) party was banned in Germany in November 1992, and Christopherson cannot be handed over to German officials.

During Saturday's antifa demonstration in Kvaers, riot police let loose attack dogs against local

residents who were demonstrating against Schönborn's neo-nazi printing facility in the town. Several demonstrators were injured by dog bites, and six residents were arrested. Then, five bus loads of Copenhagen autonomists arrived and clashed with riot police. From midnight until five in the morning, autonomists fought with police and attacked Schönborn's house with stones, bottles, and slingshots. On Sunday morning, the fascists packed up their printing press and left the town in a car with German licence plates. It is believed that Schönborn and his associates may now be residing at Thies Christopherson's house in the town of Kollund. A debate has now started in the Danish media about whether Danish officials should go after neo-nazis and prosecute them.

(Adapted from *taz*, September 27, 1994)

*Anti-fascist demo against Meinolf Schönborn in Kvaers, Denmark.*

## Anti-Fascists Target Thies Christopherson

On Saturday, October 15, 1,500 anti-fascists demonstrated outside the home of German nazi Thies Christopherson in the Danish town of Kollund. Antifa demonstrations are now held every Saturday in Kollund in an attempt to force the 75-year-old convicted Holocaust revisionist out of Denmark. Similar demonstrations, combined with militant actions, forced the leader of the outlawed German neo-nazi Nationalist Front (NF), Meinolf Schoenborn, from the town of Kvaers in September. Schoenborn had hoped to set up a neo-nazi printing press in the town. Although anti-fascists successfully shut down the nazi press in Kvaers, Christopherson is still operating his "Nordwind" press in Kollund. Under Danish law, neo-nazi literature and Holocaust revisionist texts are protected forms of free speech. Also, persons cannot be extradited for crimes which are not illegal offences in Denmark, which is why Christopherson, who was convicted of hate crimes by a German court in 1984 and sentenced to eight months in prison before fleeing to Denmark, cannot be turned over to German authorities. Danish officials are not happy with their new

international image as the protectors of neo-nazis and their printing presses. At the German-Danish border on Saturday, several hundred German anti-fascists were confronted by Danish security forces and not permitted to enter the country to attend the Kollund demonstration.

"Hate" mail (heh heh) can be sent to the following addresses:

Thies Christopherson  
Molevej 12  
6340 Kollund  
Denmark

Tel: 45-74678217  
Fax: 45-74678568

Nordwind  
Skorbakken 8  
6340 Kollund  
Denmark



## Anti-Fascist News Briefs

attacks in Italy... On Sunday evening, November 6, 1994, the 18-year-old anti-fascist Piotr K. was stabbed in the heart and killed by a 19-year-old Bundeswehrsoldier in the German city Rotenburg-on-the-Fulda. The stabbing happened after Piotr and a comrade confronted the soldier, who is also a neo-nazi skinhead. The soldier, who claimed the stabbing was "in self-defence", was not detained by police. A few hundred people, and a few hundred riot police, attended a demonstration to protest the murder of Piotr K. on Sunday, November 20 in Rotenburg. As of yet, no charges have been filed by the state prosecutor against the soldier, but "assault" charges are being considered... On November 30, 1994, the Hamburg neo-nazi leader Christian Worch was sentenced by the state court in Frankfurt to 2 years in prison for leading an illegal organization. Worch was the founder the *Gesinnungsgemeinschaft der Neuen Front* (GdNF), which is a follow-up organization to the *Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten/Nationale Aktivisten* (ANS/NA), an organization which was banned in 1986. The ANS/NA called for the lifting of the ban against the NSDAP and the realization of the NSDAP's 25-point national-socialist program. The court ruled that Worch's GdNF was continuing to strive towards these same goals (jW)... After the vote by Swiss citizens for the sharpening of the country's asylum laws, riots broke out in the city of Luzern. During a non-permitted demonstration, opponents of the new measure attacked police with stones and smashed in windows. After 2 police officers were hurt in a confrontation on Luzern's Seebuecke bridge, police fired tear gas and made 14 arrests. On Sunday, December 4, 1994, 72.8% of Switzerland's voters approved a government proposal which gives police sweeping new powers, including the ability to jail foreigners and illegal immigrants as young as 15-years-old for up to three months without being formally charged with a crime... On December 15, 1994, a court in Munich sentenced Ewald Bela Althans, the focus on the film entitled "Beruf: Neonazi" released in Germany last year, to serve an 18-month prison term. Althans was convicted of racial hatred and spreading Holocaust revisionist propaganda and videotapes, as well as other illegal fascist materials. Althans is also due to go on trial early next year in Berlin on charges of Holocaust revisionism stemming from statements made by him in the film "Beruf: Neonazi" during a visit to Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz. During a tour of the former death camp, Althans, among other things, remarked that "what is taking place here is an absolute lie" (dpa/jW)... Four German neo-nazis are on trial in Gross-Gerau near Mainz for being involved in the publication "Der Einblick", a fascist anti-antifa manual which published the names and addresses of hundreds of liberal and leftist judges, social workers, writers, autonomist infoshops, anti-fascist activists, and other "anti-German forces". Stephan Cunic, 23, admitted to writing portions of "Der Einblick", and he fingered Norman Wolfgang Kempken, 26, as the man who wrote the foreword and financed and edited "Der Einblick".

# "THE FIRST UPRISING OF THE EZLN"

*Excerpt of a letter from Zapatista Subcomandante Marcos to Cepeda Neri and his family, January 26, 1994, as published in La Jornada and other Mexican newspapers.*

"...In March of 1993 the comrades were discussing what would later become the "Revolutionary Laws". Susana [a Tzotzil Indian leader] was chosen to travel around to dozens of communities to talk with the women's groups and gather their thoughts about the 'Law of Women'. When the CCRI [Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee] met to vote on the laws, they heard one by one from the commissions on justice, agrarian law, war taxes, rights and obligations of the peoples in struggle, and women.

"It fell to Susana to read the proposals that had been pulled together from the ideas of thousands of indigenous women. As the reading advanced, the CCRI assembly appeared more and more disturbed. One could hear murmuring and remarks. The comments rebounded from one side to the other in Chol, Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Tojolabal, Mam, Zoque, and 'Castilian' [Spanish].

"Susana didn't back off, but continued on the attack: 'We want to not be obliged to marry someone we don't want. We want to have only the children that we want and can care for. We want the right to be leaders in the community. We want the right to speak our opinion and have it respected. We want the right to study, and to drive.' So it went until she finished. At the end, there was a heavy silence. The 'Laws of Women' Susana had just read signified, for the indigenous communities, a true revolution.

"The women leaders were still receiving the translation, into their dialects, of what Susana had said. The guys looked at each other, nervous, upset. Suddenly, almost simultaneously, the translators finished and, in a gathering movement, the women representatives began to applaud and talk among themselves. Which is not to say that the laws were adopted unanimously. One Tzeltal representative commented: 'The good thing is that my woman doesn't understand Spanish, otherwise...' An insurgent woman official, Tzotzil, with the rank of infantry major, interrupted him: 'You're screwed, because we're going to translate into all dialects.' The comrade's face fell. The women representatives were singing, the guys were scratching their heads. I, prudently, declared a recess...

"...This is the truth: the first uprising of the EZLN was in March of 1993 and it was led by the Zapatista women. There were no casualties, and they won. Things of these lands..."

*(Translation by Oreja)*

rm The Spirit

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